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PRICE TWO CENTS.

LOOMFIXERS STAY OUT.

THEIR ACTION STRENGTHENS STRIKERS' POSITION.

Close Of the 18th Week Of the Strike Finds Situation Firmer Than Ever—Enthusiastic Mass Meeting Of the Strikers Held Sunday.

Providence, R. I., May 26.—The 18th week of the strike of the weavers of the American Woolen Company against the double-loom weaving of fancy worsteds has passed, and the situation that now exists appears to be more in the nature of a deadlock than at any time since the beginning of the trouble.

The reports of willingness on the part of local managers to make satisfactory settlement, which were caused to be circulated in the past fortnight, were shown to be misleading when Manager Ward of the Riverside Mills made in the past week his statement that the double-loomers would not be singled out, and that no concessions would be made.

The loomfixers had been largely instrumental in circulating the reports of a desire on the part of the company to make a satisfactory settlement through its local agents with committees of weavers. With such an understanding a number of loomfixers who have been out in sympathy with the weavers were contemplating measures for a return to work.

A week ago they postponed action a week with an understanding that the weavers were to seek such conferences for a satisfactory settlement. Ward's statement, together with knowledge obtained that an authorized statement for the company had been issued in New York, declaring that the preceding conciliatory talk was not authorized, showed that the company did not intend to make a satisfactory settlement through such conferences, and they were not held.

The loomfixers, as well as the weavers, arrived at a conclusion that the strike leaders were not disposed to delay any chance of settlement, and when the time came for the postponed meeting of the loomfixers yesterday few were disposed to consider a return to work without a settlement.

Some expectations had been aroused that in the course of the controversy regarding the willingness of the managers to make a satisfactory settlement with committees of their own weavers a break in the ranks would occur. But that was disposed of when the strike leaders proceeded with plans to arrange for such committees to be sent to the managers. And then came the statement that the looms were not to be singled out, nor were there any concessions to be made.

It was reported yesterday that two of the loomfixers were going to insist upon a vote to return to work. About 35 loomfixers were at the meeting. The situation was discussed exhaustively and two of the number present urged such action. But the whole matter was laid on the table indefinitely and no change was wrought in the situation.

There was a mass meeting of the striking weavers yesterday afternoon at Textile Hall. There was a general discussion of the situation and the weavers were told of the coup executed by Anthony McDonald of the executive board in bringing to Oneville the party of Hebrew weavers who had been induced to go to Plymouth on Saturday.

The weavers were elated and the visitors who had refused to stay and work in Plymouth after having learned about the strike, were treated very cordially. It was represented that these weavers from New Jersey were told that they were wanted to work in the Washington Mills, where the strike had been settled, but instead of being taken to Lawrence they were sent to Plymouth, and on the train going there they met McDonald, who explained the situation. It was further said that weavers were needed there because many of the mill workers owned farms and left the mills in the spring to till them.

In a meeting of the executive board last evening measures were taken to have pickets at convenient points to intercept such parties of workers being taken to mills on strike, and trains at certain points will be closely watched in the coming week.

The executive board announced that offers of employment for 87 weavers have been received from mills in the vicinity of Woonsocket and Hyde Park.

TRUST HUNTING WEAVERS.

Promise to Break Silk Weavers Into the Business.

The Woolen Trust is scouring the country in an effort to get weavers to take the place of the men on strike in its various mills.

Agents of the trust have been working in Paterson, N. J., where there are many silk weavers on strike. These weavers are told that they can readily adopt themselves to woollen weaving and are promised \$2 a day while learning, fare and all expenses paid. The trust agent tells them that there is no strike in the mills. That it is because of the big orders ahead and the scarcity of weavers that they seek new men. Ten men intercepted at Plymouth, Mass., by

the strikers were from Paterson; they will arrive home again to-day.

A member of the Executive Board of the strikers visited Paterson yesterday, and distributed literature warning the Paterson weavers of the true state of affairs. Meetings have been arranged for to-day at which further information will be given.

The strikers have learned that attempts have been made to secure weavers in Europe and a vigilant watch is being kept upon incoming steamers to see that the contract labor law is not violated.

A PLEA FOR GENERAL SMITH.

A Bible Student On the Famous "Kill All Over Ten" Order.

The Easton, Pa., "Sunday Call" in its issue of May 11 publishes the following unique contribution to the discussion of the order of General Smith: "Fair Play For General Smith."

"Editor Sunday Call:

"A lot of goody-goody sympathetic people are making a lot of noise about the order that General Smith issued directing that a certain one of the Philippine Islands should be made 'a howling wilderness' and that every person above the age of ten years found on it should be killed. These people lift up their hands in holy horror at the order, and Congressman Sibley of our own State delivered himself of a speech in which he called General Smith a fiend, said he was a disgrace to the Union army and should be dishonorably dismissed before the going down of the sun."

"I am less astonished at the violent language used against General Smith by these latter-day humanitarians than at their ignorance of the example furnished General Smith for his most lenient order. These people may know considerable about modern civilization, and how warfare should be carried on, when it cannot be averted, without killing non-combatants, but they are supremely ignorant of the teachings of the Bible and the will of God as to how prisoners, women and children, should be dealt with that become captives."

"Before censuring General Smith let them turn to their Bibles and read the thirty-first chapter of Numbers, the first verse of which reads: 'And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying: "Avenge the children of Israel of the Midianites."'" The war was started in compliance with the Lord's order, and under his special direction. Acting under the divine command Moses mobilized an army of twelve thousand men. Now read the seventh verse: 'And they warred against the Midianites, as the Lord commanded Moses, and they slew all the males.' Even the little chaps under ten years were killed by the valiant men of Israel, according to God's direction, if the inspired writer is correct. In the ninth verse we read: 'And the children of Israel took all the women of Midian captives, and their little ones.' Presumably the latter were little girls, because in the seventh verse we had read 'all males' had been slain."

"When the soldiers returned with their prisoners and spoils (see verses 12 and 13) Moses and Eleazar, the high priest, and a number of other dignitaries, went out to meet the victorious army. Now Moses, who always spoke by authority, from God, got very wrathful and angry when he saw that only the male Midianites had been killed, and he said to the returning soldiers: 'Have you saved all the women alive?...' Now therefore kill every woman that hath known man by lying with him. And I presume the Lord's command was duly executed, although the writer gives no particulars of what nowadays would be termed massacres."

"But cruel and heartless as was the treatment of the little boys and of the women who had been married, their fate was even preferable to what befell the innocent girls, as related in the eighteenth chapter: 'But all women children that have not known man by lying with him keep alive for yourselves.' In verse 35 we learn that there were 2,030 of these unfortunate women and girls. That this was all done strictly in accordance with God's will we find in the twenty-first verse: 'And Eleazar, the priest, said unto the men of war which went to the battle, This is the ordinance of the law which the Lord commanded Moses.'"

"I do not see how any man who believes in the Bible as a true record of the character and will of God can dare to censure General Smith for his order to make Samar a howling wilderness and to kill every inhabitant above the age of ten years, when the fate of the Midianites was no less severe; yes, even worse, since unoffending women were saved from death only to meet a worse fate at the hands of the brutal soldiery. I beg that General Smith may not be too harshly judged."

"A Diligent Bible Student."

Ten years ago the Hampden Glazed Paper Co., of Holyoke, Mass., imported skilled workmen from New York to finish the finer grades of papers made at that mill. Since then a new machine has been introduced which does the work of six men. The machine itself only costs \$600 and can be worked by a girl. The New York workmen have been fired and some of the returned this week to their old homes.

There was some days ago an independent strike inaugurated by the employees of the Whitcomb Cigar Co., of Springfield, Mass., against onerous new shop rules. The men said they did not wish to be treated like convicts and they were out inside of a few minutes.

DRINKING IN HIGH LIFE.

W. C. T. U. REGALED BY SENSATIONAL REPORTS.

Time Extended To Speaker Who Told Of Drunkenness Among Women and Of Women Who Act As Agents For Licentious Men.

Ten minutes was the time allowed speakers at yesterday afternoon's session of the Women's Christian Temperance Union Convention, because of the large number of reports to be made. Only once did the time-keeper fail to sound the gong. The exception was made in favor of Mrs. M. J. Annable, of Brooklyn, State Superintendent of the Union's rescue work, who told some interesting experiences.

"No one," she said in beginning her address, "is always under his or her self-control unless he or she is a total abstainer. Only to-day a well-dressed, good-looking woman got on the same car with me in Brooklyn. Presently a man got on. I don't know if they knew each other before, but presently I saw the man whisper and I heard the woman say, 'Certainly, two champagnes.' Then they got off the car together. You can guess the rest I suppose, or at least the probable result."

"Only a few days ago," Mrs. Annable went on, after telling some more of the evils of drink, "I was invited to a reception given to a young bride who had just returned from a wedding trip of nine months. The reception was at the house of her father-in-law, in Brooklyn. He is a Christian man and his wife is well known as a philanthropist. I could not go to the reception and I am glad that I could not. I learned afterwards that the beautiful young bride became so drunk and foul-mouthed that her father-in-law had to take her to task. That provoked so much bad language that it was necessary for the butler and half a dozen of the male guests to carry her shrieking from the room."

"A few days later I received a card—I believe one was sent to each guest—expressing the bride's regret at the occurrence and declaring that she had no memory of having used the language attributed to her."

The moral of that story of an event in "high life," Mrs. Annable said, is that the evils of intemperance are not confined to "the lower classes." She gave several instances of successful effort in rescue work, and declared that the work is made doubly hard by "well-dressed women who visit the stores as the agents of men and make friends with the girls employed there, often enticing them to their ruin."

Speaking of the need for rescue work, Mrs. Annable said she has the record of 800 descendants of a woman who died in Brooklyn in 1827 at the age of fifty-one. That woman kept a house of ill fame and was a drunkard. Of her descendants 700 have been in jail, 342 were confirmed drunkards, 127 women were immoral by their own confession and 37 paid the law's penalty for murder.

Mrs. Annable declined to give the name of the erring bride on the ground that she did not think to do so would be in a line with her department of rescue work. The name of the woman who died in 1827 she also refused to divulge for the sake of the hundred descendants who were never in jail.

HOLYOKE ITEMS.

Matters Of Interest From The Paper City

Holyoke, Mass., May 24.—In answer to inquiries about Standard Voting Machine—It is made by the Barr Manufacturing Co. of Worcester, Mass.

The statement of a Boston correspondent that Simmons was the only (black) comrade of the S. L. P. in Massachusetts is not correct. We have another in Westfield. Comrade Victor Payton, who has remained loyal to the S. L. P. when many others dropped into the ash barrel of the S. D. P.

The Otis Manufacturing Co., of Three Rivers, Mass., recently had one of its employees by the name of Peter Zagranyk, hauled up before the Supreme Court to answer to the charge of stealing a monkey wrench and an oil stove. The charge was backed up by half a dozen mill bosses and several of the employees of the Company. But all their evidence could show was the alleged fact that the articles were stolen from the company and found by the town sheriff in a trunk alleged to belong to the defendant. The key to the trunk was furnished by the mill superintendent. The jury promptly returned a verdict of not guilty.

The cigarmakers of Westfield have made out a new bill of prices to go into effect June 2. The bill demands one dollar advance on certain kinds of handwork and if there be a strike of 120 men and women will be effected.

Several machinist firms have acceded to the demands of their employees for an increase of wages of 25 cents per day. The larger firms, however, have as yet not given their answer which must be by June 1, otherwise a strike is certain.

The plumbers who have struck for \$3 per day on May 1, have compromised on \$2.25 per day as a minimum wage and have gone back to work.

FRENCH ELECTIONS.

The Complete Returns Place 14 Bona Fide Socialists In the Chamber.

The Paris, France, "Le Socialiste," organ of the Parti Ouvrier Français (French Socialist Labor Party), with date of May 11, brings the final results of the late French elections for Deputies to the Chamber. The rebalots resulted in the election of the following candidates of the "United Revolutionary Socialists":

P. Constans, in the 2d District of Montlucon (Department of Allier), with 9,346 votes.

Baron in the 1st District of Aix (Department of Mouths of the Rhone) with 6,551.

J. Benesch, in the District of Montpellier (Department of Hérault) with 8,702 votes.

J. Dufour in Isoudun (Department of Isere) with 6,379.

A. Zevae, in the 2d District of Grenoble (Department of Isere) with 10,934 votes.

G. Delory in the 3d District of Lille (Department of the North), with 8,904 votes.

Selle in the 3d District of Valenciennes (Department of the North), with 11,473 votes.

Chauviere, in the 2d District of 15th arrondissement of Paris (Department of the Seine), with 6,193 votes.

Walter, in the 2d District of Saint Denis (Department of Seine), with 10,164 votes.

These, together with the 5 elected at the first ballot, and already reported in these columns, raises the number of the bona fide Socialist delegation in the Chamber to 14. These 5 were Thivier (Department of Allier), Sambat, Dejeante, Vaillant and Constant (Department of Seine).

LABOR'S RISK.

Court Decisions Make It More Far Reaching Than Ever.

The "Times" sums up the following interesting case:—

Assumption of Risk.—Herbert J. Rice, while engaged in feeding a rag cutter in the factory of the Eureka Paper Company at Oswego Falls, N. Y., had his hand caught in a loop of strings among the rags and before he could extricate it with his other hand both were drawn into the cutter. The entire right hand with all the fingers on the left but one were cut off. The rag cutter was not fitted with a belt shifter or other device by which it could be stopped quickly in case of emergency. Rice had worked for the factory for a year, and was fully aware of the dangers to be apprehended from an absence of these devices. A judgment in his favor in an action against the Eureka Paper Company to recover damages has been reversed by the Appellate Division, the court holding, by Justice McLennan, that Rice assumed the risk incident to his employment. "The plaintiff," says Justice McLennan, "at the time of the accident was forty years of age, was ordinarily bright and intelligent, had tended the machine in question for more than a year, was entirely familiar with its construction and operation, knew that it was not provided with a belt shifter or belt tightener, fully understood that proper provision had not been made for stopping the machine, and knew and apprehended the dangers incident thereto. The machine was suitable for the work it was intended to do, all the parts were perfect, and all appliances necessary or convenient for its use were supplied except a belt shifter or belt tightener, which would have enabled the plaintiff to stop the machine at will and almost instantly, but that such appliances had not been furnished and were not in use was apparent and was known to the plaintiff. He also knew the danger to be apprehended from a failure to use such devices. If no other facts existed, clearly the plaintiff assumed the risk of his employment, and would not be entitled to recover." The defendant's Superintendent had promised Rice that a shifter would be adjusted, and such shifter was actually in the factory at the time of the accident, waiting to be put in place, and on this promise Justices Spring and Davy dissent, saying that a promise by a master to a servant that he will repair a defect in a machine is equivalent to saying that he will assume the risk of the defective machinery instead of the employee.

CHILD LABOR LAW VIOLATION SUITS.

Paterson, N. J., May 19.—Suit has been begun in the District Court against Ulrich & Co., of Railroad avenue, manufacturers of reed and harness supplies, for the recovery of the \$50 penalty imposed by the State for employing child labor.

The suit has been brought by Frederick Van Blarcom, as counsel for State Factory and Workshop Inspector John C. Ward, who has taken action following a report made by Deputy Inspector Herbert Wells, of this district.

In addition to the suit against Ulrich & Co., a suit has been brought against Bernard Roberts, the cases growing out of the employment of Benjamin Roberts, twelve years old, who has been employed in the mill.

The law provides that not only the firm who employs a child under the prescribed age is liable, but the parents or guardian of the child as well. Mr. Wells has notified several other manufacturers in the city that prosecution will follow unless the laws governing the employment of those under age are more closely lived up to.

CHILD LABOR HERE.

LITTLE TOTS OF FIVE YEARS THAT ARE SLAVES OF TOIL.

Charity Workers Indulge In Talk and Demand More Legislation, Ignoring the Fact That Present Child Labor Laws Are Openly Violated.

"The women of New York have been moved to deep indignation by the recent revelation of the horrors of the child labor system in the South and in New Jersey; yet they remain ignorant of the fact that in this city are instances quite as bad," says Robert Hunter, head worker of the University Settlement. "These conditions have led the Neighborhood Workers, an organization just formed of all the settlement workers in the city, to make child labor in New York the first object of its efforts. A committee have been appointed of which I am chairman, to work for this object."

"Cases of child labor going on in the tenement house districts are constantly coming under the observation of settlement workers. Here is a recent case: Two little girls, nine and eleven years of age, frail, stunted, ragged little creatures, were found to be bread winners. They spent the morning in school, and at noon climbed three flights of stairs to a dark back room, where a luncheon of dry bread and coffee awaited them, prepared by their mother, a 'pans' finisher, who, by rarely dropping her needle during her waking hours, makes on an average of 35 cents a day. After swallowing their food they would hurry away to a basement shop, dingy and unventilated, where they made paper bags till 11 o'clock at night, pasting hour after hour, without intermission. At that hour of the night they went home to another meal of bread and coffee, which, poor as it was, they often could not eat from sheer weariness, falling asleep with the crusts but half gnawed."

"These two children made each from 75 cents to \$1.25 a week. For such a piteously small sum they were, to use the words of the person who investigated the case, 'being worked almost to death.' But this is a common fate among the tenement house dwellers. They have to work to the very edge of death in order to keep this side of it."

"This case is but one among the thousands that could be cited, illustrating the criminal burden that the present criminal Child Labor law of New York permits to be placed upon children. Little tots have been found who could not attend school because they helped make artificial flowers, and their labor could not be spared. Children of sweatshop workers frequently begin at five years of age to help earn a living for the family by sewing buttons and pulling out basting threads, and at the same age many children are set to work stripping tobacco for the cigarmakers."

"None of these children forced to undertake such work receive any protection whatever from the present Child Labor law. Besides these, the news, messenger and telegraph boys compose a class whose hours of work are insufferably long. Only the children working in stores and factories are given protection by the New York law; in them no child under the age of fourteen can be employed. In case of mercantile establishments, however, an exception is made, permitting the employment of children over twelve years of age during the vacation of the public schools, provided they secure a certificate from the Board of Health. In both factories and stores the number of hours minors can be required to work cannot exceed sixty a week, save during the last two weeks of December, when all restrictions upon the time children can be kept on duty in stores is removed, and employers may exact from their half grown clerks and cash girls as many hours of work a day as they choose to demand."

"Education, happiness, an opportunity to develop—these are the rights of every child—rights, however, which are denied vast numbers of children, and which will continue to be denied them until broader and more humane legislation is secured. What is urgently needed is a child labor commission, authorized by the legislature, charged to investigate the whole subject of child labor and to prevent the facts in a printed report, so that adequate measures may be formulated to remedy the distinctive evils which the present law permits to exist."

"The present need is accurate information on the subject," continued Mr. Hunter. "All the settlement workers know that cases like the one quoted exist, but whether the evil is widespread or only isolated, we have no means of knowing. The first thing is to get statistics, and I shall probably put a man on this work this summer. Every once in a while we come across cases in which conditions are terrible in the extreme, and make you feel that the cruelty which is practised is most formidable. But we do not know whether there are fifty or five hundred or five thousand such cases in the city."

"One thing is indisputable. There is not school room enough for the school population, and there is a large number of children attending only half a day, while many are not in school at all. But the extent of this evil even is not known. It is to be hoped that the school census which was ordered some time ago will be taken soon."

"It is a curious thing that no reform

can ever be settled, once for all. Any abuse which has to do with humane selfishness keeps coming up, over and over again. Lord Shaftesbury spent forty years in dragging the children of England out of the clutches of those who would exploit them. The things which he told of child labor in England, day after day and year after year, before Parliament would pass his bills, are more frightful than any of Dante's imaginings. It is just a century since Sir Robert Peel, in 1802, introduced the first of all bills for the protection of the children in the cotton factories. And yet here the same abuse is to be fought in every State of America.

"The results of child labor are always the same, in any country, with any people. First, it produces a degenerate working class, both mentally and physically, as the child cannot develop in either line without education or outdoor exercise, and a degenerate working class will in time reduce the industrial status of a nation. Second, it lowers the man's wages, always. If the working of the children raised the standard of living, there might be some excuse for it. But it has been shown in the statistics of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and other States that the income of the family where the children work is no greater than that where the men alone work. The father's wages are distributed among the children, that is all, and they are being deprived of their natural rights of health and education. There is but one plea for child labor, and that is in the case of families in which the father is dead, incapacitated, or has deserted his family, and the answer to this is that society has no right to impose upon a helpless child a burden for which he is not responsible. It should relieve the family in some other way."

Dr. Annie S. Daniel, whose work in connection with the out practice of the New York Infirmary for Women and Children for years past has given her practical acquaintance with the tenement interior, said:

"The work of children in the home trades of the tenement houses is very widespread. It is common to see children of five or six years at work sewing on buttons. Children sew on all the buttons, and are often kept at work long hours at this. Others paste paper on paper boxes made at home. Many help in making artificial flowers. They stick the stems in the vials, and do a great deal of pasting. In the tenement cigar making the children straighten out the leaves for the older workers."

"Some of these children are in school part of the time, some not at all. In working in the home trades they are working under the worst possible conditions, for they are confined in close, small, ill lighted and ill ventilated rooms, where eating, sleeping, cooking, and all the work of the household is in progress."

"The only remedy lies in absolute prohibition of any industrial work in the home. No factory inspection department, no committee, private or public, no child labor commission, or any other body, can keep track of the children working in the homes, as long as work goes on there at all. It would require a person stationed in each tenement house all the time. The same will hold true of preliminary investigation. But enough child labor lies on the surface, perfectly apparent, to justify action by the State."

FATHER HUSSIE'S SCHOOL.

He Is the New Father Phillips of the Miners.

Hazleton, Pa., May 26.—The Rev. Father Hussie, the priest who has been taking an active interest in the miners' strike, to-day opened a school here for breaker boys, who have been thrown out of employment by the suspension of operations. During the strike period, the boys of any faith can improve their time in this summer school. Some 250 boys ranging in age from 10 to 17 years are now entered and Father Hussie expects several hundred more to join the classes during the week.

"Some of these lads," said the priest, "are sadly neglected. Many are compelled by circumstances to forfeit all educational advantages for work in the mine washeries. Tender hands become hard in the employment of separating coal from slate and refuse. But the sixty or eighty cents they make each day is important to widowed mothers or unfortunate fathers, and education is often forgotten in the daily struggle for existence."

"I have opened this school to improve these neglected boys while they are idle and I think it is bound to bear good fruit. I am sorry to say that study will be an innovation to some of these lads. Some had primary education and a few have progressed favorable with home study."

"The horror of child labor cannot be fully appreciated or understood until one comes in personal contact with it as I have here. There are many bright boys employed about these mines—boys who long for better things. Force of circumstances compels them to labor when they should be storing knowledge in the minds for the future."

"I hope that my strike school may suggest the establishment of other schools of the kind in all parts of the anthracite district and that in this way much good may come out of this enforced idleness."

Father Hussie yesterday distributed 2,500 pledge buttons to his parishioners. They are of celluloid and attached are blue ribbons which pledge the wearers to temperance in all things. Printed on the face of the button are the words: "Strike pledge; success, 1902."

SPREADING THE LIGHT.

IS ROOSEVELT'S DEFENSE OF PHILIPPINE CRUELITIES.

Both the Light Says Senators Pritchard and McLaurin; We Are In the Islands Because We Need Them and Need Them Baldy In Our Business.

In his Carnegie Hall address, President Roosevelt expressed his usual contempt for the opinions of those "who live softly, remote from the strife," and his usual "scant patience with those who, sitting at ease, delight to exercise a querulous and censorious spirit of judgment upon men who, whatever their shortcomings, are doing a strong man's work as they bring the light of civilization into the world's dark places."

The cruelties practised in the Philippines brings the light of civilization into one of the world's darkest places according to Roosevelt.

When this country began the war with Spain, President McKinley, in solemn proclamation, informed the world that a war of conquest was prohibited by our moral code—that a war of conquest was held by the United States to be criminal aggression. To-day this country is waging war against a people because they will not submit to a government to the rule of which they have at no time consented. They are called rebels because, on their own land, in their own homes, they resist an attempt to control their lives made by a people who to them are strangers and foreigners. And they are tortured to force them to give evidence of this rebellion in order that "we" may punish them for maintaining it. That country which rebelled against England is justifying the war upon the Philippines on the ground of treaty rights accorded by a Power against which the Filipinos were in rebellion; and yet England's right to govern this country was as irrefragable under the law of nations as America's right to govern the Philippines is shadowy and indefensible in the light of the Declaration of Independence.

If England, after the battle of Yorktown, had sold to France her claim to the right to govern America, and France had at once waged war upon the colonies to force submission, the case would be exactly parallel.

While President Roosevelt is talking of carrying the light of civilization up both Senator Pritchard of North Carolina and Senator McLaurin of South Carolina, at the meeting of the American Asiatic Association where they talked on the Philippine question. They did not declare that the Filipinos were unfit for independence, or that they needed civilization's light, but based their opposition to surrender of the islands on a simple argument that the United States needs somebody to whom to sell its cotton. Senator Pritchard said:

"The great problem with which the Southern people have had to deal in the past has been as to where we could find an adequate market for raw cotton and the cotton fabrics of the South; and I want to say to you that the only hope for the Southern people in that respect is in the Orient, and inasmuch as the Philippine Islands lie in the pathway to the Orient, I cannot for the life of me understand how any Southern man who has the good of his country at heart can for one moment contemplate the idea of relinquishing our jurisdiction over these islands."

"Once we restore law and order in these islands, as we certainly will do, in my opinion the trade with the outside world with the islands will treble, and the Southern people will be the chief beneficiaries thereof."

Senator McLaurin said that he represented the most intensely Southern State holding interests in common with New York. He said:

"Before the war the South was almost purely an agricultural country. Now the manufacturer is coming down to the cotton fields, and the planter puts his surplus money in mill stock. At no distant date the American planter and manufacturer will control the market for American cotton, and through that control dictate the terms upon which the world shall be clothed with this great American product."

"The United States has leaped of late years that it needs an ever widening and expanding market for its products, and it has found an important foreign outlet among the teeming millions of the Orient. The Asiatic market has come into the field as one of the most prominent factors in the modern commercial problem. And yet, just as we were profitably developing this great market in China, a movement was instituted which, if successful, would have neutralized all the good results already obtained and placed our trade with China in a retrograde course to the recent attempt to enact a very drastic measure of Chinese exclusion."

JERSEY CENTRAL'S PENSIONS.

Nearly 3,500 employees will be affected if they live long enough, by the reported plan of the Central Railroad of New Jersey to pension employees. Only those employed in the mechanical operation of the road, and who have reached the age of seventy, or who, after serving thirty years and being over sixty-five, have become incapacitated, will be eligible for the pensions.

TWO PAGES FROM ROMAN HISTORY.

PAGE II.

THE WARNING OF THE GRACCHI.

BY DANIEL DE LEON.

ADDRESS DELIVERED IN MANHATTAN LYCEUM, NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY EVENING, APRIL 16, 1902.
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF GREATER NEW YORK, SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

(Stenographically reported by BENJAMIN F. KEINARD.)

COMRADES OF SECTION NEW YORK:

The purpose of this second page from Roman history, "The Warning of the Gracchi," is in a measure supplementary to the first. The first page, "Plebs Leaders and Labor Leaders," was strategic, this one is tactical. The first pointed out a peculiar danger that threatens the Socialist or Labor Movement from without; this one is to point out an inherent weakness of our forces under fire. As the first was intended for aggression, this one is intended for precaution.

LAW OF REVOLUTIONARY SUCCESSION.

The Socialist is not like the chicken in the fable that, having on its back still a bit of the shell of the egg from which he just crawled, looked out into the world and said: "Why, as things are, they have always been, and will be." The Socialist, whether with such a shell on his back or not, knows that as things are, they have not always been; and he knows that neither will they always remain so.

The Socialist looks back over history and finds "things," so far from being in a state of placid, stable equilibrium, convulsed by violent upheavals; and he shrewdly surmises the end is not yet. The Socialist looks below the agitated surface of that agitated mass, and he discovers that its aspect is not that of turmoil and chaos, merely. He discovers there a succession of well marked social changes, many of them having existed and gone down long before his days, and been succeeded by others, that also disappeared before he was born, to make place for the Social System under which he now lives.

The Socialist looks still closer, and he recognizes in these social changes, not merely a succession, but a progression of revolutions. He perceives that it is not a case of "wave following wave," but a case of development.

With eyes increasingly trained, the Socialist detects the active agency in each of these progressive upheavals. Each of these upheavals is found to mark the downfall and extinction of a Ruling Class, achieved by a Ruled Class, which, in turn, develops, and enthrones itself on a new Ruled Class, which, again in its turn, supplants its oppressor; and so on.

Finally, equipped with the key that these researches fit him out with, the Socialist fathoms the secret of the force latent in, and that brings on this progression of revolutions. It is the law of economic evolution. Every Ruling Class represents a distinct Economic System, born of that that went before. The overthrow of a Ruling Class means the overthrow of its Economic System. When the Economic System of a Ruling Class has worn out, when it has been sapped by the Economic System, carried in the womb of the then subject Class, it is cast aside. The downfall of a prevailing Social or Economic System is conditioned upon the ripeness of the Economic System next in order to substitute it; and the executor of such fates in social evolution is the subject Class, whose class interests dictate the new system, and that then takes the reins of government.

One illustration will do for all. Going no further back than the Feudal System, it is seen to have declined in the measure that—nursed into vigor by the sheltering boughs of the very tree of Feudalism—there rose and gathered strength a new Economic System, that was able to sap the Feudal System and render the feudal lords dependent upon it. Feudal rule was grounded on LAND. All the same, among the subject Class—the bourgeoisie or future Capitalist Class—there rose a new, the capitalist Economic System, grounded on CAPITAL, slowly undermining the foundation of the Ruling Class, until the day came when an Economic System different from its own held it by the throat. And then came the toppling over; and then came the struggle; and the Capitalist Revolution was accomplished.

Along identical lines we notice things are proceeding today, under the Capitalist System. Again—nursed into vigor by the sheltering boughs of the Capitalist tree itself—there has been rising and gathering strength a new Economic System, that is sapping the Capitalist System and rendering the modern Ruling Class, the Capitalist Class, dependent upon it. Capitalism is grounded upon the INDIVIDUAL operation and ownership of the machinery of production. And again, among the new subject class—the Proletariat, or Working Class—there has risen, obedient to their own class interests, a new Economic System—Socialism, grounded on the COLLECTIVE operation and ownership of the machinery of production. The Socialist Economic System has been gradually undermining the Capitalist; individualism in production is vanishing. When the Economic Principles of a Ruling Class are worn out, that Class itself is nearing its finale. The Capitalist Class is on its last legs. When matters came to that pass in feudal days, the victory of Capitalism followed inevitably, as might does day. Is the victory of So-

cialism, the emancipation of the Working Class, therefore equally inevitable? The danger is natural, and, therefore, serious, of drawing automatic—or, as the Germans call it, "Schablone"—conclusions from the principles just mentioned. "The Feudal System," one often hears asserted from many a sincere Socialist source, "overthrew the Theocratic System; the Capitalist System overthrew the Feudal System; the Socialist System MUST, therefore, inevitably overthrow the Capitalist System." Some put it this way: "Theocratic rule was overthrown by the Feudal Class; the Feudal Class was overthrown by the Capitalist Class; therefore the Proletariat will overthrow the Capitalist Class." And they consider that, by saying that, all is said that is to be said on the matter. At best these automatic reasoners may grant the usefulness of stimulating the people at large, the proletariat in particular, with descriptions of the beauties of the Socialist New Jerusalem; and there you are: The Capitalist Class will stand by, cap in hand, and allow the Proletariat—some call it "the people"—to step in;—and there you have your Socialist Republic. (Applause and laughter.)

Socialist science is no automatic affair. It knows and teaches that nothing is the result of any one, but of many causes, operating together. Accordingly Socialist science submits to the microscope the solemn procession of past class uprisings. The additional observations thus gathered disclose this important fact: The Working Class, the subject class upon whom depends the overthrow of Capitalism and the raising of Socialism, differs in an important respect from all previous subject classes, called upon by History to throw down an old and set up a new Social System.

Going again no further back than the days of Feudalism, the distinctive mark of the bourgeoisie, or the then revolutionary class, was the possession of the material means essential to its own Economic System; on the contrary, the distinctive mark of the proletariat today is the being wholly stripped of all such material possession. While wealth, logically enough, was the badge of the revolutionary bourgeoisie, poverty is the badge of the proletariat. The sign, the symptom, the gauge of bourgeois-ripeness, as of the ripeness for emancipation of all previous subject classes, was their ownership of the physical materials essential to their own Economic System; the sign, on the contrary, of the proletariat is a total lack of all material economic power,—a novel accompaniment to a revolutionary class, in the whole range of Class Revolutions.

Does this difference establish a difference in kind between the proletariat and the old bourgeoisie as a revolutionary class? It does not. But it does establish a serious difference in the tactical quality of the two forces, a difference that imparted strength to the former revolutionary forces under fire, while it imparts weakness to the proletariat.

There was nothing imaginable the feudal lord, for instance, could do to lure the bourgeois force from the path marked out to it. Holding the economic power, capital, on which the feudal lords had become dependent, the bourgeoisie was safe under fire. All that was left to Feudalism to maneuver with was titles. It might bestow these hollow honors, throwing them as sops to the leaders of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie was not above "rattles and toys"; but not all such "rattles and toys" could have led the bourgeois revolution into the ground. On the contrary. If already stripped of economic power, the feudal lords had also stripped themselves of exclusive feudal privileges, they would only have abdicated all the sooner. A "good king," a "soft hearted duchess," might have stayed the striking arm for a while. But only for a while. The striking arm was bound to come down. Wealth imparts strength; strength self-reliance. Where this is coupled with class interests, whose development is hampered by social shells, the shell is bound to be broken through. The process is almost automatic.

Differently with the proletariat. It is a force, every atom of which has a stomach to fill, with wife and children, with stomachs to fill, and, withal, a precarious ability to attend to such urgent needs. Cato the Elder said in his usual blunt way: "The belly has no ears." At times this circumstance may be a force; but it is only a flimsy force. Poverty breeds lack of self-reliance. Material insecurity suggests temporary devices. Sops and lures become captivating baits. And the one and the other are in the power of the present Ruling Class to maneuver with.

Obviously, the difference I have been pointing out between the bourgeois and the present, the proletariat, revolutionary forces shows the bourgeois to have been sound, while the proletariat, incomparably more powerful by its numbers, to be afflicted with a certain weakness under fire; a weakness that, unless the requisite measures of counter-teraction be taken, must inevitably cause the course of history to be materially deflected. It is upon this vital point that the career of the Gracchi ut-

ters its warnings across the ages to the Socialist.

THE ROME OF THE GRACCHI.
The Rome of the Gracchi—about 100 B. C.—was the Rome of 400 B. C., the time when the address "Plebs Leaders and Labor Leaders" closed, only with the then existing evils intensified by 300 years. All the causes that, 300 years previous, brought on those evils, were at work now, only with the added swing of 300 years' additional momentum. To those causes there should be added just one so as to help explain and complete the picture.

Actuated by the giddy notions of aristocracy, that had seized the Ruling Class, it took the fancy of being the lords of large cattle and sheep ranges, rather than of farms. It carried on its designs in this way: Corn was imported free from Sicily and the Asiatic possessions. That rendered valueless, at least not marketable, the corn raised in Italy. Rome having by that time become mistress of all Italy, this policy spread ruin over the whole peninsula. The farmers were bankrupted; their farms were expropriated; and these were added to the lands of the ruling Romans, who thus changed the face of the Italian soil into immense cattle ranges and sheep walks, run entirely by slaves.

The social-economic situation of the time is summed up graphically in the words of Tiberius Gracchus, which I quoted in the course of the first address of this series, to indicate the utter hollowness of the Plebs Leader victories, as far as the middle class and the proletariat were concerned. I shall quote it here again for the sake of completeness: (reading)

"The wild beast of Italy have their caves to retire to, but the brave men who spill their blood in her cause have nothing left but air and light. Without houses, without any settled habitations, they wander from place to place with their wives and children; and their generals do but mock them, when, at the head of their armies, they exhort their men to fight for their sepulchres and domestic gods; for, among such numbers, perhaps there is not a Roman who has an altar that belonged to his ancestors, or a sepulchre in which their ashes rest. The private soldiers fight and die, to advance the wealth and luxury of the great; and they are called masters of the world, while they have not a foot of ground in their possession."

—a language that reminds one of the language of the Nazarene, about 150 years later.

When to this is added that a horde of 14,000,000 slaves is said to have been then in Italy; that not 2,000 families were possessed of solid wealth; and that the vertigo had reached the point that a Roman Knight, finding himself bankrupt, tried his luck by freeing his slaves, having them elect him their king, and starting a servile uprising, which, of course, was speedily suffocated, a picture may be formed of the social condition of the Rome of the Gracchi.

As to the political situation, it had remained unchanged, barring one circumstance that is of importance, having quite a bearing on tonight's subject.

Rome, like most of the empires of antiquity, was a city empire. Like Athens, like Sparta, like Carthage, Rome was a city-government, a city-commonwealth; and one may say she was ruled on democratic principles, in the sense that all those who had the right to a say in the government, had a say DIRECTLY, by appearing at the forum, at the market place, at a certain place, and there giving their vote. The territorial expansion of Rome brought on a change.

So long as Rome was absorbing only tribes contiguous to the city, the Roman citizen who settled upon the newly acquired territory, could, with comparative ease appear in Rome on election, or voting day, and have his voice heard. In the measure, however, that the conquered territories lay further and further away, this direct participation in the government became more difficult. When, finally, all Italy was a Roman possession, even the Roman citizen colonies were "de facto," tho' not "de jure," disfranchised: presence at the forum in Rome was out of the question.

Somewhat, the mind of the ancients ran up against a dead wall in face of the problem thus presented. Modern civilization has solved the problem through "Representative Government." In Washington, for instance, the laws are enacted that govern this vast country, infinitely larger than the Italy that Rome owned. The laws proceed from Washington; but it is not the people of Washington that enact the laws. The laws are enacted by representatives of the whole country, chosen by the whole people; and in that way the whole people actually legislate. If the laws as passed do not suit them, theirs is the fault. A country can now consist of so many active citizens that it would be impossible for them all to meet and legislate; and yet, however far apart they may reside, they can exercise the suffrage and control the national legislation; representative government makes that possible.

Antiquity had no conception of this.

As the Roman citizen abroad in Italy had none but a potential vote—potential inasmuch as it became actual only by his presence in Rome—the Italians, who had not been turned into slaves, were mere political pariahs. They were ruled from Rome. This brought on a social alignment of dire results: Economically, the Italian population, Rome included, remained divided between the landlord-plutocrat and the proletarian classes, with the middle class cutting ever less of a figure; but both these classes fell again into two hostile camps, with the line of cleavage drawn by the Roman suffrage. On the one side stood the denizens of Rome, rich and poor together; on the other stood the Italians outside of Rome, poor and rich together. Now, then, by the slow alluvial accretions of over 300 years of habit, the ragged Roman proletarian came to consider himself a limb of the ruling power, held together with the Roman landlord-plutocrat by a common bond of political superiority over the vast numbers of free peoples in Italy, outside of Rome.

We have seen, in the course of the address on "Plebs Leaders and Labor Leaders," the baneful results of the superstition that, enabled, the bourgeois plebeian, under the cloak of the common designation of "Plebeian," to pull the wool over the eyes of his "fellow plebeians," the proletarian and middle class, just as in our own days the Labor Leader does to his "fellow laboring men," under the cloak of the common designation of "Labor." So now. Whenever the question came of granting the franchise to the Italians, the down-trodden proletarian of Rome joined his oppressors in violent opposition to sharing with the Italians "the purple of government."

I hope I have made the point clear enough to warrant the conclusion that the situation that confronted the Gracchi at about 100 B. C. had passed the stage of reform. No tinkering could any longer stand. No enactment of "laws," and waiting for their slow operation could then touch the evils that afflicted Rome, and, along with Rome, her Italian domain. The day for constitutional methods was gone by. Whenever a nation has reached that point, there are no longer "institutions" in existence; the institutions have become shadows. There is extant nothing but USURPATION. In such emergencies nothing short of revolution is in order.

Such were the conditions that confronted the Gracchi, and which they addressed themselves to correct. Did they realize the nature of the task before them? Did they understand the qualities, the tactical strength and the tactical weakness, of the material at hand to accomplish their task with? In putting these two questions, I am dividing into two a question that can hardly be divided. They are like the obverse and reverse of a medal. They are the two sides of one and the same thing:—the task to accomplish, and the element necessary to accomplish it with. Did the Gracchi understand that? I shall show you they did not; and from the series of blunders that they committed, and the dire result of their blunders, we to-day, in the Rome of to-day, should take warning.

THE GRACCHIAN TACTICS.
The Gracchi were two brothers of distinguished extraction and connections, Tiberius, the elder; Gaius, the younger. They did not figure together; they figured successively. Tiberius began in 133 B. C.; his work was cut short by assassination, committed by the Senators. Gaius took up the work of Tiberius a few years later, and carried it on successfully for a while, in the teeth of the Senate, until, left in the lurch by the proletariat, he fled from Rome, and committed suicide in the contiguous Grove of the Furies. And that ended it, in 121 B. C. This constitutes the Gracchian episode, strictly speaking. Its start, however, should be placed several years earlier, in certain incipient reformatory movements, the forerunners of the Gracchian episode, proper. The whole period would, accordingly, cover something like a generation, reaching its climax in the Gracchi.

And now, as to the series of steps taken to accomplish the gigantic task in hand. I shall not here go into a detailed account of the numerous legislative enactments of this period. It is not necessary, any more than in my address, two weeks ago, a detailed account of the Roman constitution was needed. That would only surcharge the picture. The salient and successive acts will answer all practical purpose.

FIRST ACT.
The first act of this period consisted in a reform of the suffrage. You will remember that the Roman suffrage was exercised by Centuries; that the Centuries were military divisions of the people, ranked according to property; that the highest Centuries, including the Knights, had the fewest numbers and the largest vote; that the Knights and the 1st Century together polled 97 votes, an absolute majority of the 193 polled by all; and that the order of voting was according to the rank of the Centuries, so that if, as happened usually, the first two agreed, the others were not called upon to express their opinion, seeing the voting was by word of mouth.

All this was certainly vexatious: the majority of the citizens was placed at a decided disadvantage: wealth preponderated, poverty was aggravated. The Gracchian Movement attacked this wrongful system first. But how? Did it restore the preponderance of power to where it belonged? No. It tinkered around the form, and merely reduced the evil. It lowered the vote of the 1st Century from 80 to 70, so that, instead of the first two, it now required the solid vote of the first three Centuries to carry the day. Instead of 2 Centuries having the power to out-vote 5, 3 Centuries—still a minority—were left with power to out-vote 4; and the shuffling was carried a step further by the provision that the Centuries were to vote precursively and not by rank, as formerly—as though trump cards became any the less trumps by

the order in which they were played. There was a third provision that properly comes under this head. It preceded the others. It was a provision for a secret ballot,—thereby attuning it vast revolutionary purpose to clandestine methods.

SECOND ACT.
The Licinian law, described in full in the address on "Plebs Leaders and Labor Leaders," had remained a dead letter. The Licinian law, among other things, limited the number of additional acres that could be acquired by an individual from the public domain. Despite its provisions, the landlord-plutocracy had proceeded, if anything, more high-handedly than ever to appropriate what it never had a right to, being State property, but, moreover, to do so now in violation of express enactments. The Sempronian law—so called from the middle name, Sempronius, of the Gracchi—dug up the old Licinian law, and, at a time when even its provisions had lost whatever curative power there may have been in them 300 years before, proposed, not the old Licinian law in all its fullness, but that law in a diluted form. Besides the number of acres allowed by the Licinian law to be appropriated from the public lands, one half the number was now allowed in addition to each holder for each son; the remainder was to be redistributed, and indemnity was provided for possible property expropriated from the expropriator.—The Sempronian law was a compromise with Usurpation.

THIRD ACT.
But although Tiberius Gracchus sought to circumvent the Revolution, the Counter-Revolution promptly locked horns with him. His colleague in office had the power to block him, and he did; at least he tried to. His support was constitutionally necessary for the enactment of the law. "Seen" by his patrician colleagues, Tiberius' colleague refused his sanction; and tho' at times he wavered under the fervid pleas of Tiberius, he finally resisted all entreaties and even threats. For a moment Tiberius seems to have caught a glimpse of the revolutionary requirements of the task he had set his cap to. He threw legality to the dogs. "Unconstitutionally" he ordered the proletariat to depose his colleague; and, walking roughshod over the tatters of the torn Constitution, pushed the law through.

But the glimpse of the requirements of his task, caught by Tiberius for a moment, vanished as soon as caught. Instead of fanning to a flame the spark that his conduct had kindled in the breast of the revolutionary mass behind him, he grew apologetic; sought refuge and justification in legal parallels; and thus cooled off and extinguished the spark.

The Senators were not slow in taking advantage of the reaction in their favor. Tiberius speedily fell by their own hands, clubbed to death in plain view of the populace, that stood by, or ran off awe-stricken.

FOURTH ACT.
Four years later Gaius took up the work of his brother where Tiberius had been forced to drop it. Gaius saw the Senators' hands red with his brother's blood, and looked upon that body as the barrier against which Tiberius had been dashed. Gaius determined to protect himself against danger from that quarter. No. By raising a rival to it. Did he, then, at least raise the rival power to the dreaded Senate out of the revolutionary forces at his back? Yet, again, no.

The Equestrian Order, the Knights, consisted of the same economic interests that had been incensed at the measures of Tiberius; and they, though not the direct perpetrators of his assassination, had seconded, and rejoiced in, and profited by the crime. To all intents and purposes, they were as guilty as the Senate itself. And yet that element it was that Gaius Gracchus turned to. He halved the powers of the Senate and clothed the Equestrian Order therewith. When warned, his answer was: "I am raising an enemy to the Senate: the Senate and the Equestrian Order will kill each other off." We shall see whether they did.

FIFTH ACT.
For a while the Gracchian policy seemed successful. Senate and Equestrian Order did get into each other's hair. In the meantime, anxious to strengthen his own hands in a positive, and not merely negative, way, Gaius put through successively two laws, which set the coping stone on the series of Gracchian blunders, and, watched by the light of certain modern occurrences, look as if enacted for the express purpose of enacting the Gracchian tactics to serve as a bell-buoy to warn the Socialist Movement of this generation of sunken rocks in its course.

The first of these was a law providing for 3 colonies. With funds from the Roman Treasury, these colonies were to be set up, outside of Italy, of course, so as to afford immediate relief to the proletarian mass. The patriciate promptly parried the thrust. It out-bid Gaius for popularity with the proletariat by offering them 12 colonies.

SIXTH ACT.
The second of these two laws was a provision for the free distribution of corn among the poor. The proletarian masses, the revolutionary class, were expected by that measure in particular to become firmly attached to their leader—like domestic animals or children to him who feeds them. (Applause.)

Proceeding along these lines, and having arrived at this point, Gaius Gracchus thought himself in condition to take up a question that his penetration told him was a "sine qua non" to all lasting improvement in the condition of Italy, and, withal, the most ticklish, in view of the existing popular prejudices and habits of thought, to wit, the question of the Italian franchise. But the moment he mentioned that subject, it was as if by a magic touch he had solidified the denizens of

Rome against himself. Knights and Senators suspended their wranglings, on the one hand, and, on the other, all recollection of the "improved form of the suffrage" in Rome; all recollection of the Sempronian law; all expectations of relief from the prospective three colonies; aye, all gratitude for free corn was forgotten, and thrown to the winds. So completely did the proletariat fall away from its idol that the Senate and Knights found no difficulty in fomenting a sedition against him. Forsaken by all but a few close friends and one devoted slave, Gaius first took refuge in the Temple of Diana, where, falling on his knees, he implored the gods to punish the Romans with eternal slavery for their base ingratitude. Beseeked to save himself for better days, Gaius left the Temple and fled from the city across the river. But his pursuers were hot upon him, and Gaius fled him from further agony in the Grove of the Furies.

CANONS OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.

Out of the ship-wreck of the Gracchian Movement and tactics 10 planks came floating down to our own days. They may be termed the warnings uttered by the shades of the Gracchi. They may be erected into so many Canons of the Proletarian Revolution. These canons dove-tail into one another. At times it is hard to keep them apart, so close is their interrelation, seeing they are essentially differentiations of a central idea, thrown up by the singular nature, already indicated, of the proletariat as a revolutionary force:

I.
THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION ABHORs FORMS.—It was a blunder of the Gracchian Movement to devote time and energy to the changing of the forms of the suffrage. The characteristic weakness of the proletariat renders it prone to lures. It, the least favored of all historic revolutionary classes, is called upon to carry out a revolution that is pivoted upon the most complicated synthesis, and one withal that is easiest to be obscured by the dust that its very foe, the Capitalist Class, is able to raise most plentifully. The essence of this revolution, the overthrow of Wage Slavery, cannot be too forcefully held up. Nor can the point be too forcefully kept in evidence that, short of the abolition of Wage Slavery, all "improvements," either accrue to Capitalism, or are the merest moonshine, where they are not side-tracks.

It matters not how the voting is done; it matters not whether we have the Australian ballot or the Maltese ballot; it matters not whether we have the secret ballot or the "viva voce" ballot;—aye, if it comes to it, it should not matter whether we have the ballot at all. (Applause.) All such "improvements"—like the modern "ballot reforms," "initiative," "election of Federal Senators by popular vote," and what not, are, in the very nature of things, so many lures to allow the revolutionary heat to radiate into vacancy. They are even worse than that: they are opportunities for the Usurper to prosecute his own usurpatory purposes under the guise, aye, with the aid and plaudits of his victims, who imagine they are commanding, he obeying their bidding,—as we see happening to-day. (Applause.)

The proletarian's chance to emerge out of the bewildering woods of "Capitalist Issues," is to keep his eyes riveted upon the economic interests of his own Class,—the public ownership of the land and the tools with which to work,—without which the cross he bears to-day will wax ever heavier, to be passed on still heavier to his descendants. No "forms" will stand.

II.

THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION IS RELENTLESSLY LOGICAL.—Often has the charge been made against the Socialist Labor Party that it is "intolerant," that its officers are "unyielding." The Proletarian Revolution can know no "tolerance," because "Tolerance" in social dynamics spells "inconsistency." Tiberius Gracchus overlooked the principle, and all that therewith flows, in his revamped Licinian law. If the Sempronian law meant anything; if the attitude of Tiberius, together with that of the proletariat masses that took him for its palladium, meant anything; it meant that the landlord-plutocracy of Rome was a criminal class,—criminal in having plundered the Commonwealth of its estate, doubly criminal in turning its plunder to the purpose of degrading the people and thereby sapping the safety of the state. The only logical conclusion from such premises and posture is a demand for the unconditional surrender of the social foe. (Applause.) The Sempronian law, so far from taking this stand, took the opposite. By its confirmation, implied only tho' the confirmation was of proprietary rights in stolen goods, by its provision for indemnity to the robbers, the Gracchian Movement became illogical: it thereby became untrue to itself. It trucked to Usurpation: it thereby emasculated itself.

With the Proletarian Revolution, not a point that it scores, not an act that it commits deliberately, not a claim that it sets forth may be at fisticks with one another, or with the principles that they are born of. Capitalism is a Usurpation: the Usurpation must be overthrown. Labor produces all wealth: all wealth belongs to Labor. Any act that indicates,—or rather I shall put it this way:—any action, that, looking towards "gentleness" or "tolerance," sacrifices the logic of the situation, unnerves the Revolution. With the Proletarian Revolution, every proposition must be abreast of its aspirations (applause);—where not, it limps, it stumbles, and falls.

III.

PALLIATIVES ARE PALLIATIONS OF WRONG.—Plausible are the phrases concerning the "wisdom of not neglecting small things," and the sug-

(Continued on page 3.)

DIRECTORY OF...
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SECTION ESSEX COUNTY, S. L. P.—The County Committee, representing the Sections, meets every Sunday, 10 a. m., in hall of Essex County Socialist Club, 78 Springfield avenue, Newark, N. J.

NEW JERSEY STATE COMMITTEE, S. L. P.—Meets every third Saturday at 8 p. m., at 93 Prospect street, Jersey City. Secretary, George P. Herrschaft, 93 Prospect street, Jersey City.

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SCANDINAVIAN SECTION, S. L. P.—Branch 1, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at 10 o'clock a. m., at 235 E. 38th street. Subscription orders taken for the Scandinavian Socialist weekly, "Arbetaren."

SCANDINAVIAN SECTION, Branch 2, meets first and third Sundays of month at St. Louis hall, 443 Atlantic avenue, Brooklyn.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY CLUB, 14th Assembly district. Business meetings every Tuesday evening, 8 p. m., at club rooms, southwest corner of 11th street and First avenue. Pool parlor open every evening.

SECTION LOS ANGELES, S. L. P.—headquarters and free reading room, 205 1-2 South Main street. Public meetings every Sunday, 8 p. m., 107 1-2 North Main street. The People agent, L. C. Holler, 205 1-2 South Main street.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., SOCIALIST LABOR Party meets every second and fourth Friday, 8 p. m., S. L. P. headquarters, 853 Grand avenue. Westville branch meets every third Tuesday at St. Joseph's hall. Visitors welcome.

SECTION CLEVELAND, O., S. L. P.—holds public agitation meetings every Sunday afternoon at 2:30 o'clock at 356 Ontario street, top floor.

SECTION SOMERVILLE, S. L. P.—headquarters 437 Somerville avenue, Somerville, Mass., will be open every evening and all day Sundays. Papers and books on Socialism for sale. Free reading room.

BUFFALO, N. Y., Section Erie County, S. L. P., meets first and third Saturdays, 8 p. m., in Florence Parlors, 527 Main, near Genesee street. Everybody welcome.

PIONEER MIXED ALLIANCE, L. A. 345, S. T. & L. A., meets every Tuesday, 8 p. m., at headquarters, 119 Eddy street, San Francisco, Cal. Free reading room. Visitors are welcome.

SECTION CHICAGO, ILL., S. L. P.—City Central Committee meets every first and third Friday at 8 p. m., at the central headquarters, 118 Fifth avenue, third floor (front). Visitors welcome. Wm. Berns, City Organizer, 540 W. Taylor st.

SECTION CANTON, O., S. L. P.—meets second and fourth Sundays at 2 p. m., in Union hall, 118 North Piedmont street. All are welcome. Discussion invited.

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THE WARNING OF THE GRACCHI.

(Continued from page 2.)

gestions to "accept half a loaf, where a whole loaf cannot yet be had." The Gracchian Movement yielded to this optical illusion. Even the old Licinian law, much more so its revamped form of a Sempronian law, was cast in that mold. "All that the people were entitled to they could not get": they were to have a "first installment," a slice of what was due, in short, a palliative. The Gracchian Movement thereby gave itself a fatal stab.

If the palliative could trammel up the consequence: if it could be the be-all and end-all here, then, what ill might flow might be ignored as negligible quantities. But here also the relentless logic of the Proletarian Revolution commands the ingredients of his poisoned chalice to the bungler's own lips.

In the first place, the same hand that reaches out the "palliative" to the WRONGED, reaches out the "palliation" to the WRONG. The two acts are inseparable. The latter is an inevitable consequence of the former. Request a little, when you have a right to the whole, and your request, whatever deplorable rhetoric or abstract scientific verbiage it be accompanied with, works a subtraction to the principle that wrongs you. Worse yet: The "palliative" may or may not—and more frequently yes than otherwise—be wholly visionary; the "palliation," however, is ever tangible; tangible to feeling as to sight; no visionariness there. The palliative, accordingly, ever steels the Wrong that is palliated.

In the second place, the palliative works the evil of inoculating the Revolutionary Force with a fundamental misconception of the nature of the foe it has to deal with. The tiger will defend the tips of his mustache with the same ferocity that he will defend his very heart. It is an instinctive process. The recourse to palliatives proceeds from, and it imperceptibly inculcates the theory that he would not. It proceeds from the theory that the Capitalist Class will allow itself to be "pared off" to death. A fatal illusion. The body of Tiberius Gracchus, mangled to death by the landlord-plutocratic tiger of Rome, sounds the warning against the illusion. The tiger of Capitalism will protect its superfluities with the same ferocity that it will protect its very existence. (Applause.) Nothing is gained on the road of palliatives; and all may be lost.

IV.

THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION BRINGS ALONG ITS OWN CODE.—When, at the critical stage of the revolution he was active in, Tiberius Gracchus took a "short cut across lots," and removed, regardless of "legality," the colleague that blocked his way, consciously or unconsciously he acted obedient to that canon of the Proletarian Revolution that it must march by its own light (applause), look to itself alone, and that, whatever act it contemplates, it judges by the Code of Law, that, tho' as yet unformulated into statute, it is carrying in its own womb. When, afterwards, Tiberius looked for justification to the laws of the very class that he was arrayed against, he slid off the revolutionary plane, and dragged his revolution down, along with himself. The revolutionist who seeks the cloak of "legality," is a revolutionist spent. He is a boy playing at soldier.

It was at the Denver Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in 1894, that a scene took place which throws much light upon the bearing of this particular point on the Movement of our own days. The A. F. of L. at a previous Convention, had ordered a general vote upon a certain "declaration of principles." Among these principles there was one, the 10th, which a certain class of people, who called themselves Socialists, were chuckling over with naive delight. They claimed it was "Socialistic." One of their number had bravely smuggled it (laughter) into the said "declarations." They were by that maneuver to capture the old style Trades Unions, and thereby "tie the hands of the Labor Leaders." (Laughter.) For a whole year these revolutionists had been chuckling gaily and more loudly. The Unions actually polled a majority for all the "principles," the celebrated "Plank 10" included. At the Denver Convention the vote was to be canvassed; but the Labor Leaders in control threw out the vote (laughter) on the, to them, good and sufficient reason, that the rank and file did not know what they had been voting for. (Laughter and applause.) That's not the point. That's only the background for the point that I am coming to. But before coming to that, let me here state that the rank and file meekly submitted to such treatment. The point lies in a certain droll scene that took place during the debate to throw out that vote. The scene was this:

The revolutionist who had surreptitiously introduced "Plank 10" in the "declaration of principles," and thereby schemed to capture the Unions by amouss (laughter), a gentleman of English Social Democratic Federation antecedents, one Thomas J. Morgan, now of Chicago, was storming in that Denver Convention against the Labor Leaders' design to throw out his "Plank 10," and incidentally, as he expressed it himself, was "putting in fine lines for Socialism." Suddenly his flow of oratory was checked. A notorious Labor Leader, to whom the cigar manufacturers of America owe no slight debt of gratitude, Mr. Adolf Strasser of the International Cigar-makers' Union, had risen across the convention hall and put in: "Will the gentleman allow me a question?"

"Certainly."

"Do you favor confiscation?"

The answer is still due. Cloud laughter and applause. Mr. Morgan col-

lapsed like a punctured toy-balloon. That scene should have been engraved to preserve for all time pictorially the emasculating effect of ignorance of this canon of the Proletarian Revolution upon that venturesome man who presumes to tread, especially as a leader, the path of Social Revolution, notwithstanding he lacks the mental and physical fiber to absorb in his system the canon here under consideration. (Prolonged applause.)

As I said, the Proletarian Revolution marches by its own light; its acts are to be judged by the Code of Legality that itself carries in its folds, not by the standard of existing Law, which is but the reflex of existing Usurpation. Indeed, in that respect, the Proletarian Revolution shares a feature of all previous revolutions, the Capitalist Revolution included. A new Social System brings along a new Code of Morals. The morality of the Code that the Proletarian Revolution is impregnated with reads like a geometric demonstration: Labor alone produces all wealth, idleness can produce maggots only; the wealth of the land is in the hands of idleness, the hands of Labor are empty; such hard conditions are due to the private ownership of the land or the tools with which to work; work has become collective, the things needed to work with must, therefore, also become collective;—get from under whosever stands in the way of the inevitable deduction, by what name soever he may please to call it! (Prolonged applause.) Accordingly, so militant in the modern Proletarian Revolution can be knocked off a heap by the howl of "Confiscation."

Prof. Lieber shrewdly suspects of responsibility for much of the revolutionary promptings of modern days, touching upon these two acts of Tiberius Gracchus, produces without comment—a severe sarcasm in its place—Tiberius' elaborate legal plea in defense of his removal of his colleague: a Revolution that needs to apologize for itself had better quit (applause); and he comments upon the Sempronian law in these touchingly incisive terms: (reading)

"There never was a milder law made against so much injustice and oppression; for they who deserved to have been punished for their infringement of the rights of the community, and fined for holding the lands contrary to law, were to have a consideration for giving up their groundless claims, and restoring the estates of such of the citizens as were to be relieved."

Preach to the proletariat, in the most convincing way a man may please, the abstract principles of their own, the Socialist Revolution, and then let that man seek to sugar-coat the dose with suggestions or acts that imply the idea of "buying out the capitalists," and he has simply wiped out clean, for all practical purposes, all he said before: he has deprived the Revolution of its own premises, its pulse of its own warmth. (Great applause.)

V.

THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION IS "IRREVERENT."—Karl Marx—the distinctive feature of whose philosophy is that it stands with its feet on earth, and is supremely practical,—throws out, right in the midst of an abstract economic chapter, the point that it is essential to the stability of Capitalism that the proletarian look upon the conditions surrounding him as of all time.

Reverence of the blind type is a fruit of latter-day Capitalism. Starting as an iconoclast, the capitalist winds up a Mawworm. And it is essential to his safety that the proletarian masses take him seriously. The root of this blind reverence is the belief in the antiquity of the subject revered; and that implies the future, as well as the past. Capitalism, along with its gods, its gods, along with it, are all pronounced "sacred," "ever were and ever will be, life without end." The capitalist fomenters such "reverence"; and, while he pushes his parsons forward to do the work, he holds himself out as the High Priest. The Usurper ever needs the cloak of sanctity;—and therefore it is of importance to strip him bare of the cover.

The posture of Tiberius materially played into the hands of this useful capitalist deception. He cultivated reverence for the Magistracy. The plea in defense of his deposition of his colleague was a sanctification of the class of the Usurper. It riveted superstitious awe on the minds of the proletariat, whose striking arm never could be free until its mind was emancipated. When the reverent proletarians trampled over one another, reverently to make way for the senators, who, sticks and staves and broken furniture in hand, rushed forward to slay Tiberius, the luckless reformer could not have failed to notice that the arrow that killed him was steadiest by a feather plucked from his own reformatory plinths.

Irreverence—not the irreverence of insolence, which is the sign-manual of the weak, but the self-sustained irreverence that is the sign-manual of the consciously strong because consciously sound—is one of the inspiring breaths of the Proletarian Revolution.

Reverence for the Usurper denotes mental, with resulting physical, subjection to Usurpation.

VI.

THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION IS SELF-RELIANT.—The tactics of Gaius Gracchus in seeking support or protection in the Equestrian Order, by raising it to Senatorial powers, was a grave tactical misstep. Instead of inspiring the Proletarian Movement with self-reliance, he thereby trained it to lean on others than itself. The Proletarian Revolution must, under no circumstances, play the role of the horse in the fable.

You know the fable? It is a pretty one. A horse was being harassed by a lion. The horse found that his opportunities to graze were impaired by that roaring beast, that lay low in the bushes and threatened to jump upon him, and frequently did jump upon him, and not infrequently scratched him to the point of bleeding; so that the horse, finding the area of his pas-

ture narrowing, and his life threatened either by, entered into a compact with a man. According to agreement, the man mounted the horse, and by their joint efforts the lion was laid low. But never after could the horse rid himself from the man on his back. (Laughter.)

By the action with which he clothed the Equestrian Order with the powers it had not formerly wielded, Gaius Gracchus certainly weakened the Senate, but he thereby also, and in the same measure, extended the number of the political participants in the political usurpations, that had backed and brought on the social distress which he was combating. The Equestrian Order was of the identical class that profited by the Senatorial iniquities. By setting up the Equestrian Order with powers formerly wielded by the Senate Gaius Gracchus was safer from the latter quarter,—but only in the sense that the horse in the fable was from the quarter of the lion after his alliance with the man. Gaius, like the horse, had saddled himself with a master. And the hour came when the master threw him.

That it is a waste of time and energy for the proletarian to knock down the Democratic party, however oppressive that party be, if the knocking down is to be done by saddling itself with the Republican party, a partner of the Democratic oppressor; that, however essential the proletarian may be at a Republican President or Governor, who throws the armed force of the State or Nation into the capitalist scales in the conflicts between employer and employee, it were a mere waste of energy to substitute them with their Democratic doubles;—all that is elemental. The absurdity is illustrated by the fate of the horse in the fable. There can be no real knocking down of either party until they are both simultaneously knocked down; that knock-down blow is in the power of the proletarian only. (Applause.)

All this is elemental. But equally elemental, tho' the point be more hidden, should the principle be that the Proletarian Revolution must not only not seek, but must avoid, as it would a pestilence, all alliance with any other Class in its struggles, or even skirmishes, with the Capitalist Class, the landlord plutocracy of to-day. Here, again, the peculiar tactical weakness of the proletarian, the proneness to yield to lures, manifests itself, and needs watchful guarding against by its Movement.

There is no social or economic class in modern society below the proletariat. It is the last on the list. If there were other classes below it, the Proletarian Revolution would not be what it is, the first of all with a world-wide, humane programme. All other Classes, while seeking their own emancipation, from the Class that happened to be above, were grounded on the subjection of a class below. The Proletarian Revolution alone means the abolition of Class Rule. It follows from such a lay of the land that any Class the proletariat may ally itself with must, tho' oppressed from above, itself be a fleecers' Class, in other words, must be a Class whose class interests rest on the subjugation of the workers. Such a Class is the modern Middle Class. It, like the man in the fable I have just recited, can ally itself with the proletariat only with the design to ride it. However plausible its slogans, they are only lures.

So long as a Proletarian Movement seeks for "alliances abroad," it demonstrates that it has not yet got its "sea man," the Gracchi lived and labored, and died—in vain! (Great applause.)

Let the modern revolutionist try the "municipal ownership" sop, and he will find himself out-municipal-ownershiped. Nothing there is more demagogic than Usurpation. For every 1 "municipal ownership" he may propose, the Capitalist Class will propose 12,—the same as, for every 1 colony proposed by Gaius Gracchus, the Senate out-sopped him with a proposition for 4, drew his support away from him, and threw the threatened revolution flat on its back. And Gaius Gracchus had himself lent a hand. Every sop, thrown by Gaius at the proletariat, was a banana peel placed by himself under their feet. Of course they slipped and fell.

Not sops, but the unconditional surrender of capitalism, is the battle-cry of the Proletarian Revolution. (Great applause.)

VIII.

THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION IS IMPELLED AND HELD TOGETHER BY REASON, NOT RHETORIC.—Speech is powerful. No doubt. But all is not said when that is said. The same nature of speech, that answers in one instance, fails to in another. Whatever the nature may be of the proper speech on other fields, on the field of the Proletarian Revolution it must be marked by Sense, not Sound; by Reason, not Rhetoric. The training of the Gracchi, of Gaius in particular, disqualified them in this. They had been tutored from infancy by Greek rhetoricians. Now, rhetoric, like a ship, may cleave the waters of the Proletarian revolution; but these close after it, and presently remain trackless.

Organization is a prerequisite of the Proletarian Revolution. It is requisite by reason of the very numbers involved: it is requisite, above all, as a tactical protection against the tactical weakness that I have pointed out in the proletariat as a revolutionary force. Other revolutions could succeed with loose organization and imperfect information. In the first place, they were otherwise ballasted; in the second, being grounded on the slavery of some Class, a dumb driven herd of an army could fit in their social architecture. Otherwise with the proletariat: It needs information for ballast as for sails; and its organization must be marked with intelligent co-operation. The proletarian Army of Emancipation cannot consist of a dumb driven herd. The very idea is a contradiction in terms. Now, then, not all the fervid and trained rhetoric, at the command of the Gracchi and lavishly used by them, could take the place of the drill that the Roman proletariat needed on hard, dry information. The Gracchian rhetoric pleased, entertained, swayed,—but did not organize. Could not. At the first serious shock, their forces melted away.

Two-thirds majority cast for municipal ownership shows that Socialism is in the air." (Laughter.)

The labor field of Chicago has been convulsed a deal more than that of New York. As a result of that, or possibly due to the Lake air (laughter) the capitalist politicians of Chicago are, if such a thing be possible, "quicker" than even the New York politicians. (Laughter.) I admit that is saying a good deal. We have seen, even in New York, "municipal ownership" often of late used as a stalking-horse by individual politicians. Untrifled Socialist agitation has familiarized the public mind with Socialist aspirations, tho' still only in a vague way. The politician, being "broad" besides "quick," has no objection to polling "Socialistic" votes. Being "quick" besides "broad," he has no objection to the performance if he can indulge in it by giving the shadow for the substance, all the less if he can thereby run Socialism into the ground. "Municipal ownership" lends itself peculiarly to such purposes. It sounds "Socialistic." It looks "Socialistic";—and yet we know the term can conceal the archest capitalist scheme. His nursery-tale theory concerning his God-given capacity to run industries having suffered shipwreck, the capitalist can find a snug harbor of refuge in "municipal ownership." It is an ideal capitalist sop to catch the sopable. (Applause.) We know all that. It is in view of all that that the Socialist Labor Party "municipal programme" has been drawn up as it is. It renders the S. L. P. man up-sop-proof from that side. Accordingly, it is not surprising to find the "municipal ownership" sop or dodge in full blast among the Chicago politicians. It is there in such full blast that in the municipal campaign, which closed there with the election of April 1, "municipal ownership" was a capitalist party political cry: The platform so declared it; and the speeches of the politicians of that party resounded with "municipal ownership" of railways, of gas plants, of electric plants,—well, of everything in sight. And the Chicago politicians had sharp noses; how sharp may be judged from the double circumstance that the Socialist Labor Party vote at the election rose considerably, while the Social Democratic party—with a national platform declaration on "municipal ownership" that plays into the hand of the sop—went down so markedly that its statisticians have had to seek shelter for their diminished heads behind "percentages." (Laughter.) Such, then, was the situation in Chicago. The intelligent Socialist perceives the sop of "municipal ownership" in that campaign: it cannot escape him. The large vote polled for that capitalist "municipal ownership" proposition, so far from smoothing, can only cause his brow to pucker. That vote discloses vast chunks of Social education left unattended to: vast masses left so untutored as to be caught by fly-paper. No cause for joy in the phenomenon. (Applause.) And yet this Social Democrat rejoices: (reading)

"Two-thirds majority cast for municipal ownership shows that Socialism is in the air."

"In the air,"—I should stutter! Very much "in the air,"—everywhere, except on Chicago soil! (Applause and laughter.)

Two-thirds majority cast for a municipal ownership proposition, emanating from a capitalist political party, "shows that Socialism is in the air," and is pointed to with joy!—Can you imagine such childish fatuity? For this man, the Gracchi lived and labored, and died—in vain! (Great applause.)

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Not sops, but the unconditional surrender of capitalism, is the battle-cry of the Proletarian Revolution. (Great applause.)

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—just as we have seen proletarian forces again and again melt away in our own days. (Applause.)

Rhetoric is a weapon of reform; it may plow the ground, it does not sow. The Proletarian Revolution wields the tempered steel of sterner stuff.

IX.

THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION DEALS NOT IN DOUBLE SENSE.—It is at its peril that a revolution conceals its purpose. This is truest with the Proletarian Revolution.

Gaius Gracchus had set his cap against the Senate. He conceived that body to be the embodiment of all evil. That he looked only at the surface of things appears from his conduct in clothing the Equestrian Order—men of the senatorial class—with senatorial powers. Nevertheless, it is the Senate he sought to overthrow. In his mind that was the barrier against social well-being. His revolution aimed at the overthrow of the Senate. But he kept the secret locked in his breast, and only allowed it to peep through by indirection.

It is narrated of Gaius that, meaning to convey the idea that, not the Senate but the people should rule, not the Senate but the people should be considered, he differently from the orators of old, stood with his face towards the forum, and not towards the Senate, in his public addresses. This was a bit of pantomime, unworthy a great Cause that called for plain language in no uncertain tones. By such conduct Gaius Gracchus could only raise dust over his designs. And that could have for its effect only to weaken him. It could not throw the affronted foe off its guard. On the other hand, it could only keep away forces needful for his purpose, whom straightforward language would attract.

It is only the path to servitude that needs the gentle, the path to freedom calls for the ruder hand. Pantomimes, double sense and mummery may answer the purpose of a Movement in which the proletariat acts only the role of dumb driven beasts of burden. Pantomimes, mummery and double sense are utterly repellent to, and repelled by the Proletarian Revolution.

X.

I stated Introductively to these Canons of the Proletarian Revolution that they dove-tailed in one another, seeing they all proceeded from a central principle. That central principle may be now taken up as the tenth of these canons. It sums them all up. You can not have failed to perceive it peeping through all the others. It is this:—

THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION IS A CHARACTER-BUILDER.—The proletarian organization, that means to be tributary to the large Army of Proletarian Emancipation, can not too strenuously guard against aught that may tend to debase its membership. It must be intent upon promoting the character and moral fibre of the mass. Characterfulness is a distinctive mark of the Proletarian Revolution. Foremost, accordingly, in the long series of Gracchian blunders, stands the measure of Gaius for the free distribution of corn. By that act he reduced the Roman proletariat to beggars. Beggars can only desert and compromise, they can not carry out a revolution. (Applause.)

Their energies consumed with the tinkering on "forms"; their intellect cranked by illogical postures; their morale ruined by palliatives; the edge of their revolutionary dignity blunted by "precedents"; their mental vigor palsied by the veneration of the unvenerable; their self-reliance broken by leaning on hostile elements; their resolution warped by sops; their minds left vacant with rhetoric; their senses entertained with pantomimes; finally, their character dragged down to the ditch of the beggar;—what wonder that, the moment the Roman proletariat were brought to the scratch, they acquitted themselves like beggars, made their peace with the Usurper, and left their leaders in the lurch? (Great applause.)

The task is unthankful of submitting to rigid criticism the conduct of men of such noble aspirations as the Gracchi. Nevertheless, it must be recorded that, of all the distressing acts of the Gracchi, none compares with the conduct of Gaius when, finding himself forsaken by the masses that himself had debauched and thus virtually driven from him, he implored in the Temple of Diana eternal slavery for them in punishment for their "base ingratitude,"—exactly as in modern times, Utopians, turned reactionist, have been seen to do. (Great applause.)

WARNINGS FROM THE PAST.

In the course of the first of these Two Pages from Roman History—"Plebs Leaders and Labor Leaders"—I pointed out the serious danger that lurked behind the automatic-mechanical system of reasoning on the domain of the Social Question. The man who would say: "The capitalist lives on the proceeds of labor; the more the capitalist gets, the less there is for the workingman; the more the workingman gets, the less there is for the capitalist; between the two there is an irrepressible conflict; harmony between them is impossible; therefore Mark Hanna's Industrial Peace Commission is bound to be a failure;—the man who would say that would speak truly. And yet grave the blunder shown to be that such conclusion leads to, if it complacently stops there.

We saw wherein the danger lay from a review of the career of the Plebs Leaders. Between the patriciate and bourgeois plebeians, on the one hand, and the rest of the plebeian order, on the other, there was a conflict as irrepressible as that between Capitalist Class and Working Class. Concord between the two was out of question. Yet we saw what happened. The impossibility of concord between the exploiters and the exploited of Rome caused neither Camillus' Temple to the Goddess of Concord to crumble, nor the conditions which it actually was a landmark to break down. What happened was a continuance of social development that moved, we may say, along the resultant of the forces, that lay in the "irrepressible conflict" together with

CONGRESSIONAL PLATFORM

Adopted by 22d Congressional District, Illinois.

The S. L. P. 22nd Congressional District of Illinois assembled, in convention reaffirms its allegiance to the National Platform of the S. L. P., and indorses its policy on the economic and political fields. Acknowledging the self-evident truth that labor, properly exercised, produces all wealth, but that, in adverse proportion, the wealth thus created by the working class is appropriated by the capitalist class, whereas, on the other hand, the creators of all wealth, the working class, is allowed barely enough to eke out a miserable existence.

The result of such conditions is one incessant class war perpetually carried on between the two classes, with the inevitable result, the overthrow of the economically weak, the working class, by the economically strong, the capitalist class.

In proof of the above assertion, fellow-workmen we ask you to take a retrospective view of the past, beginning with the great A. R. U. strike in Chicago, where the railroad corporations assisted by President Cleveland's troops smashed into fragments the unarmed forces of organized labor for which act on Cleveland's part, Senator Daniels of Va., in the U. S. Senate at the time, introduced a resolution of endorsement, from that point let your memory travel downwards over the bloody fields of Homestead, Buffalo, Brooklyn, Hazelton, Wardner, etc. You remember the great iron and steel workers' strike, and the machinists' strike of last year, (1901). In all of the above named contents between the contending classes on the economic field the capitalist class the economically strong, did either by the brutal methods of club, bullet or bayonet, or by the more refined yet more cruel weapon of starvation, or both, force the economically weak, the working class to submit to their imperial will, proving beyond doubt the criminal folly of the Gompers, O'Connell, Schaffers, et al policy in leading the rank and file of the labor unions, with their naked fists or hungry stomachs, against the guns and bayonets of the uniformed thugs of capitalism, the state or federal troops.

In entering this congressional campaign we know that the social ills from which the working class suffers are too deeply rooted to abolish within the limits of any city by itself. That must be the work of the nation at large. Nevertheless, while we hold constantly in view our ultimate goal, the nations capital, we know that local conditions can be improved, and the future degradation of the working class checked, if the working class is conscious of the fact that it must stick at the right place in order to become master of its own destiny. In view of this, the S. L. P. of the State of Illinois, 22nd Congressional District submit to their fellow workmen of this Congressional district the following Manifesto:

Fellow Workmen: At this stage of the three card monte game, of which you are the victims, and in which your labor mis-leaders, the Gompers, O'Connell, Schaffers, Foxes, et al, on the one hand, and their masters, the Hannans, Schwabs, Straus, et al, on the other hand, are the principal players, we feel it to be our duty to remind

the ignorance on, and the manner in which the conflict was handled. And we saw how dire the issue.

Just so with regard to to-night's subject. A mechanical, "schabloned," style of reasoning would blind us to the peculiar, the exceptional tactical weakness that the proletarian labors under as a revolutionary force. And the blindness would be fatal.

The Gracchian episode in Roman history supplemented the episode, whose close was marked by Camillus' Temple to the Goddess of Concord. Rough-hewn in the quarry of 500 B. C. to 400 B. C., the proletariat of Rome was 300 years later shaped into final shape in the smithy of the Gracchian tactics. And what was that shape? An army of legions, whose motto was a mockery of the Socialist maxim that we know to-day. The Socialist maxim is: "Workingmen, you have nothing to lose but your chains, and a world to gain!"—a world of human happiness, from your own noble efforts. The maxim that arose in the army of revolution that the Gracchi shaped was: "Proletarians, you have nothing to lose but your weapons, your sword and pike, and a world to gain!"—from what? from the favor of your General? how? through rapine!—would it, in these days of electric rapidity, take 500 years to shape the proletariat of the land into another world-fagot?

As in biology, the same elements, submitted to different temperature and atmospheric pressure, will produce different substances, so in sociology. The Socialist Republic will not leap into existence out of the existing social loom, like a yard of calico is turned out by a Northrop loom. Nor will its only possible architect, the Working Class—that is, the wage earner, or wage-slave, the modern proletariat,—figure in the process, as a mechanical force moved mechanically. In other words, the world's theater of Social Evolution is not a Punch and Judy Box, nor the actors on that world's stage mannikins, operated with wires.

As the first of these Two Pages from Roman History, by drawing attention to a strategic danger that besets the path of the Socialist Movement, pointed to the urgency of providing safeguards; so this second Page, "The Warning of the Gracchi," by drawing attention to a tactical weakness of our own forces under fire, points to the precautions that the conditions demand.

And we, then, to-day, in this country, the country that nearest comes to Rome since Rome went down,—well may we look back to the lessons of those days. Well may we take to heart the career of the Plebs Leaders; well may we take to heart the tactical blunders of the Gracchi; and from the one and the other receive a warning for our conduct in this generation. (Great applause.)

you of the fact that hitherto you yourselves have been the greatest enemies to your class, and will continue to be so until you awake to the knowledge that, "he who would be free himself must strike the blow."

In the past you have been asking your enemies, the capitalist class to commit financial suicide for your special benefit. And because the streak of insanity in your modern capitalist anatomy does not turn in your direction, you have raged and stormed, called them cruel monsters and heaped a dictionary of billingsgates on their devoted heads, only to return to them again on the next election day and ask them for help. Instead of helping they have invariably hurt you and hurt you bad. When you ask them for bread, they gave you a club, a bullet or a bayonet. Why did your capitalist master treat you so? mainly because of their inert cussedness you exclaim! Nay, verily in self-defense did they do you.

And now to the proof. There are only two parties to the distribution of wealth created by the labor of the working class. The idle capitalist class, and the toiling millions of wage slaves who produce it. Consequently more wages and shorter hours or both to the working class means smaller dividends to the capitalist class, on the other hand lower wages or longer and more intense hours of toil for the working class, spells larger dividends to the capitalists, and greater hardships to the workers. Ah! but you say, there is no necessity for the capitalist to cut wages every time he does so. Yes, there is. And your failure to understand why the capitalist must not only cut wages, but continue to do so in order that they may exist as a class, is due to the fact that your labor organizations have, for a long time, been under the dominations of Mark Hanna's labor lieutenants. The Gompers et al; Judas Iscariots of labor all of them, who by their vampire action of no politics in the union, capitalists and laborers must get close together, and the like have fanned you to sleep, while their capitalist masters have sucked your life blood. And thus have they prevented you from dissecting in your union meetings the very inmost and intricate machinery of your capitalist system of production in the U. S. and the world. A study of which would have taught you that the capitalists of our country had long ago burst their national bonds and were now struggling for the world's market for a sale of their surplus product, which they rob from the working class. You would have learned also that the world's market was, and is rapidly decreasing in size, a fact plainly demonstrated by the \$14,000,000 deficit in the export trade of the year just ended as compared with the previous year, on the other hand the productive forces of those gigantic international competitors is ever on the increase. In a word, fewer markets on one hand, and an ever-increase of marketable commodities on the other hand, forcing the capitalist to cry out continually for cheaper products. They must hold the market and ever seek more markets to stave off a panic which spells ruin to many thousands of them and dire suffering and distress to the working class, and for these reasons they reduce wages and extend and intensify the hours of labor. And you our fellow-workmen must suffer either way. If they cut your wages, you suffer, and if they do not cut your wages, and as a consequence lose their markets, then they will shut down the factories and again you will suffer. Looked at in any light the capitalists, if they must live, must get their living out of the hide of the working class. They cannot give up any of their profits, they need it all to enlarge factories and keep them up to date in order to successfully withstand the onslaught of competing capitalists.

These truths you could have learned by proper economic discussions at your union meetings and the knowledge thus gained would have enabled you to cram down the throat of those fakirs and traitors of the working class

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES

In 1888..... 2,068
In 1892..... 21,157
In 1896..... 38,564
In 1900..... 34,191



The surest method to prevent good sense is to set up something in the room of it. BALZAC.

A SIEVE ON PAPER.

Judge Peter S. Grosscup of the United States Circuit Court granted last Tuesday in Chicago a temporary injunction against the packing firms generally known as the Meat Trust. It was this identical Judge Grosscup, who, in 1894, joined in granting an injunction against the American Railway Union. He and his associates pronounced the performance of 1894 "a Gatling gun on paper," and so it was; no doubt in their clubs they are now pronouncing the performance of last Tuesday "a sieve on paper," and so it will prove, and was meant to be.

Last Tuesday's injunction assumes to be the meat firms not to do some twenty and odd things. Among the things they are ordered not to do, and as typical of the rest, is to curtail the quantity of meat shipped to the market. In other words, the Court presumes to direct a private concern on the quantity of its output, without, of course, assuming the risk of the loss that might accrue to such concerns from an overstocked market. Among the weak points in the armor of the capitalist theory that the "Captains of Industry" are useful members of society, is the fact that these "Captains" can not, as individuals, be in possession of the fullness of information, that organized society could be, on the statistics of wants. Hence, to a great extent, the panics and crises that convulse a society, the supplying of whose wants is in the keeping of the "Captains." And, strange though it may seem, that very weakness has been turned into an argument in favor of the "Captains of Industry" social system, that the Grosscups are politico-judicial props of. The element of "risk" has been reared into a justification for keeping society over industrial volcanoes. Consequently, the "Captains" have been protected in their full attributes of determining, among other things, the output of their goods.

In view of this, the Grosscup injunction violates its own capitalist premises. Is, then, the injunction "revolutionary"? Bless your heart, no! It is a sieve on paper, carefully drawn up in such way that the Meat Trust can run through, just the same as the 1894 injunction was a Gatling gun on paper, carefully drawn up in such way that the workmen, on strike for redress, could be moved down.

LET'S ROARINGLY LAUGH.

The below letter merits reproduction in editorial space:

Editor THE PEOPLE:

For some weeks past I have noticed going the rounds of the "Socialist" or Social Democratic papers a pathetically humorous paragraph similar to the following, clipped from Milkop Hayes' "Citizen":

"In Dallas, Tex., the Socialist party polled 250 votes in 1900; this spring, 2,465. The Democrats received 3,583 and the other parties practically nothing."

As a resident of Dallas, conversant with the facts, I denounce the statement that "the 'Socialist' party polled 2,465 votes this spring" in the late city election as a falsehood.

The facts are: One B. R. Anderson, a more or less well known "business man" of the city, announced himself as an INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE for the office of Alderman-at-large, and "in favor of public ownership." The local Socialist Democrat branch, comprising possibly forty or fifty persons, endorsed his candidacy. Mr. Anderson may or may not be a member of the S. D. branch, but he is not the entire campaign, if he ever made an address espousing socialism or announcing that he would uphold the socialist program, I never learned of it.

One thing is sure, of all the printed matter he ever issued in behalf of his candidacy, none ever contained any allusion to socialism.

There was NO SOCIALIST TICKET IN THE FIELD in the late campaign or election in Dallas either "Socialist" or Socialist Labor Party. The

fact that Mr. Anderson announced as an independent candidate favoring public ownership, and was endorsed by the Dallas S. D. P. branch, is all there was to it. Not one person knew that he sustained any political relationship to any socialist party organization. The above are facts and the "Citizen" paragraph is a conard.

WORD H. MILLS.

Dallas, Texas, May 14, 1902.

"Canard" is a mild term to apply to such doings. It is one of the numerous glass-eggs that the Kangaroo Social Democracy, alias "Socialist" party, is placing all over the land, under the stupid hens that make up its dupes, to encourage them to keep together. We have quoted a large number of these. The "giant strides" made by this "Multi Coca" party consists of just such "strides" as the one in Dallas. It is a fraud; a stupid fraud.

Yet stupid and fraudulent tho' the performance is, it is not without its humor. Whose diaphragm is not shaken with laughter at sight of the ramshackle collection of Kangaroo Social Democratic Editors and "essayists," compelled by the lashings of the S. L. P. one day to "disown" the log-rolling indulged in by their "locals," and the next day footing up the total products of these identical log-rollers and giving that as an instance of their "giant strides"? Who is there so bereft of humor not to roar out aloud at the sight of such a rabble-roust imagining that with their glass-eggs they can pelt down capitalism, or be considered dangerous enough to be bought off by the capitalists?

Let's roaringly laugh.

THERE IS A LIGHT ABOUT TO BREAK.

The performance of Mr. Joseph Barondess at last Sunday's meeting of the Central Federated Union, served as a fit and speedy companion piece to another performance, that took place within the previous seven days, and in which the gentleman also figured. The two performances not only picture the individual, but, and above all they picture the lay of the land.

As stated, the theater of the second performance was the Central Federated Union. Mr. Barondess appeared there as an ambassador of the East Side "kosher meat" anti-trust agitation. The body before which he went knows him well. They know he has figured as Anarchist, as Populist, as Social Democrat, at all times as an anti-Socialist Labor Party man, and that in the late municipal campaign he figured as "reformer," being closeted with and quoted by the reform candidate for District Attorney, Jerome. Did these piebald antecedents of the man, besides other still more malodorous antecedents that aromatize his career, stand in his way before the Central Federated Union? Not in the least. Likes recognized likes. When he stated his mission—a bizarre proposition to hold the bronco of capitalism back by the tail—he was loudly applauded. And when he capped the climax by hurling defiance at the "Reform Administration," and announcing that thenceforth he would fight it with all his might (!?), the applause was very discriminate. Indeed, likes scented likes. Political adventurers recognized their kith and kin. The bogus banner of "Labor," under which the Central Federated Union plies its trade of chicanery and political corruption, spread its folds to gather in its own, just as a hen spreads her wings to gather in her chicks. Barondess was gathered in.

The other and first performance had for its theater the convention of the Independent Order of Berith Abraham, a Jewish workman's mutual insurance association. Barondess was a delegate. It was important to his ulterior schemes to capture an office. He aimed at the office of Deputy Grand Marshall. The delegates were overwhelmingly workmen. Barondess strutted about the convention floor as the Incarnation of Workman. But despite all his posing and stage strutting he secured only 70 votes out of over 300 votes cast.

This blow, given squarely in the face of the "Labor Leader" by workmen, stunned the defeated "hero," and he sat all of a heap, when suddenly he started up as if stung to the quick. Indeed he was stung. The matter of the association's printing being before the house, a motion was made that the job be given to one Auerbach, a man well known on the East Side as an upholder of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, and consequently, an implacable foe of the scab crew of the "Hebrew Typographical Union," affiliated with the organization of Hanna's labor lieutenant James M. Lynch, the President of the International Typographical Union. Small wonder that Barondess felt stung to the quick. What member of the Organized Scabbery does not feel "rattled" at the bare suggestion of the S. T. & L. A.? Barondess, of course, did. Though his eyes were not yet open from the blow he had just received, he sailed in; and there rushed from his obscure mouth that torrent of calumny against the Socialist Labor Party for which the Organized Scabbery is now famous and that constitutes their only stock in trade. "De Le-nite scabs" was the burden of the "ar-

gument." Unhappy Barondess! It would have been money in his pockets and in the pockets of his set had he kept his mouth shut. He was now facing, not a Central Fakirated Union, made up of picked individuals from the Organized Scabbery; he was here facing the rank and file in a convention where the tricks of the Organized Scabbery are of no effect. To say that the convention "went for Barondess" is to put it mild. Delegate after delegate rose and soaked it into him. The gist of the speeches from the members who are not S. L. P. men was:

"We are no Socialists, but we know this: that the Socialist Labor Party is honest. It is an open foe, straight forward and plain-spoken. But you (pointing the finger of derision at Barondess), you and your set, you are crooked. You are 'friends' whom nobody can place. You talk one day one way, the next another. You are corrupt. We won't take your word. The S. L. P.'s word is as good as its bond," etc., etc.

When the vote was taken, Barondess was left with a cold 7; all the other votes were given against him, and Auerbach got his job! Barondess looked black and blue, his thrashing was thorough, and via him the whole Organized Scabbery got its drubbing.

And who will say that there is no progress? And who will say that the S. L. P. practical work of unmasking the Labor Leader is not having its effect? Finally, who will fail to recognize in the lay of the "labor-land" that its "Central Fakirations," though intended to deceive, may deceive the junk-head politicians, but are fast losing the power to deceive the rank and file of the workers? The two Barondess performances were worth their weight in gold.

THE REV. PARKHURST AND HIS VACATION.

If a reform administration can not govern the city, its effect in a way is worse than that of a Tammany administration, for simple depravity is not so debasing as moral incompetence.

When, in the municipal reform campaign of 1890, a statement, substantially like the above, was the answer with which a Socialist declined an invitation from the "reformers" brought to him by the Rev. Heber Newton, the Socialist was told by the Reverend that it was one of the distressing experiences made by him that "good purposes," like those of the Socialists, were always accompanied by "a degree of fanaticism that hindered all progress." Twelve years have since elapsed. "Reform" went in some seven years ago, and was promptly knocked out three years later and now again a "reform" administration is in; and not quite five months later the above remark is justly made on it, not this time, by a Socialist, but by another Reverend, one, at that, who helped boost in the Low Combine. The above passage is from the parting words of the Rev. Parkhurst, before going to his Geneva Lake, Switzerland, residence to spend his summer vacation.

An ulcer is infinitely more dangerous if covered up than if exposed. If exposed, there is good reason to hope that constant contemplation of the evil may, besides spurring the decent part of the population with a desire to get rid of it, suggest to the thinking portion the correct way to go about it. If covered, however, there is no hope for any such result. The visionary will imagine it gone, and others would be deprived of the opportunity, that observation would afford, to learn the cause, the features and the ways of the ulcer, and thus to go about to exterminate it in the right way. Such an ulcer is Capitalist Society. Under Tammany the ulcer throbs in plain view; under "reform" it throbs under a silk handkerchief. The Socialist, for that reason, among others, has no use whatever for "reform." The breed is made up of rainbow chasers, dupes and knaves.

The fact that the Rev. Parkhurst raises his voice against the "incompetence" of the "reform" administration gives ground to the belief that he is not of the third category. That, however, he should have expected a better issue justifies the belief that he belongs under either of the first two, if not both categories.

There was a time when, regularly as summer approached, and the Rev. Parkhurst betook himself "for a vacation" to his summer home in Switzerland, we asked the question, What is he going to have a vacation from? We now suspect we did the Rev. Parkhurst an injustice. He needs a vacation. Not one but several a year. Wearing must be that man's work who labors at mopping back the Atlantic Ocean of Capitalist corruption and social ills. That man needs frequent rest. He might as well take rest before that ocean engulfs him. The Rev. Parkhurst needs plenty of rest for mind, and heart, and hand.

Omaha is to have a new \$2,000,000 packing company. Part of its assets, if it wishes to succeed, must be invested in a batch of patriotic and fearless legislators. The ordinary legislator is good in his way, but patriotic fire and incorruptibility, though they come high, are much more to be desired, and should be obtained at any price.

Presbyterians spent over a million dollars last year for the purpose of teaching the heathen that their dead chil-

dren, unless of the elect, were in hell. That belief is no longer held by the Presbyterians themselves, so the heathens, converted at a cost of one million dollars, unless they have caught up with the revision, will go to hell for holding an erroneous belief.

The truth concerning the coal strike is slowly coming out and the truth is, as was told by the DAILY PEOPLE over a week ago, that the coal carrying roads forced the strike at the instigation of Pennsylvania politicians, because it was deemed wise to break any prestige that Hanna had gotten or was supposed to have gotten through his connection with and prominence in the National Civic Federation. Hanna's aspirations make him troublesome and Quay, who will do any man's work, in the event of the man's ability and willingness to pay the price of political genius and "honesty," was "sicked onto" him. These miners from the very beginning were being used as political pawns, and now Hanna has been forced into a position where he loses not only his pawns but also the game.

The playful and gentle automobile continues to pursue the weary, and usually gets him or her. This past week the auto as far as local accounts give us information, has killed 11 persons, seriously injured 23, and has been the cause of other trouble such, for instance, as scaring horses to death. This is due to recklessness on the part of the owners of the machine. A slight fine does not deter them, and they are only too ready to take all risks—which do not injure them personally—in order to get the most out of their sport.

It turns out that the Anarchist plot to kill the little King of Spain was laid by the industrious police force so that the said police force would have something over which to cackle.

The awards in the now famous Park avenue tunnel cases, while no one would object to them as being excessive, are yet a curious revelation of the twists and turns and inequalities of the law. The awards so far have usually been for not less than \$40,000, and it is expected that that figure will be maintained, and in some instances far exceeded. These awards are heavy both because of the horror of the accident, and because most of those killed or injured were of the "better class" and were earners of much money. Their earning power accompanies them into the grave, and their heirs are benefited. Every day the working class, producers of all, are killed and maimed, are seared in the hell of the blast furnace, are crushed in quarries, are smothered and buried alive in mines, are dismembered in saw mills, are whirled to death by the shafting in factories and mills, or, perhaps, are sliced or mangled but not enough to be mercifully deprived of life. When the heirs, of these men appear in court they receive a hundred dollars, or at best a few hundred dollars, and in many cases, the overwhelming majority of cases, nothing at all.

Gov. Gen. Wood, who has been the administrative ruler of Cuba for the past few years, was railroaded out of the way, and his war honors, if he had any, were appropriated so brazenly by another man, that a word on the passing of Wood is not out of the way. He was the initiator and the genius of the "Rough Riders." Roosevelt stepped in, and thanks to his louder voice, his more strenuous gall, and his more active press agents, he soon did Wood out of his "Rough Riders," and has blatantly blarneyed about their war record and his war record with them. Wood, because of the work that he did in Cuba, was the "Spanish War hero" who should have had the nomination to the Vice-Presidency of this country. Roosevelt, thanks again to his superior boreal and oral equipment, did him out of that. So Wood has had an honorable career—no less could be given to him—but all he did and really all he was went to the building of another man. There is no law which says that the highwayman who holds up another man and takes his laurels away from him, or the sneak thief who picks another man's pockets of the possibility of reputation and high office shall be punished, but that is just what was done to Gov. Gen. Wood, of Cuba.

Nearly 200 miners were killed in a mine explosion at Fraterville, Tenn. The horror and consternation, the pity and the ready offers of assistance to the sufferers at Martinique show that there is a great deal of humanity in the world. But they also show that there is a great deal of blindness, for the mines and the railroads kill in a year as many persons as suffered from Mont Pelée, but as these victims are workmen no notice is taken of them.

Political and Economic.

Mme. Theresa Humbert, who, according to the story told by the New York "Times," succeeded in borrowing \$1,000,000 on mythical securities in an empty safe, had just about as good a collateral as the average business man who forms a stock company. The story is of the utmost interest, and contains a larger and better moral than the stories that enter into the second and third readers. Mme. Humbert presented herself as the sole legatee of Robert Henry Crawford, an American "millionaire," and on the strength of this she proceeded to sink deep into the holdings of the money lenders. It was a splendid game, splendidly played, and Mme. Humbert and her pals should at least be given a place that is at least as good as that which is held by a bank president or a promoter.

The "Manchester (N. H.) Union" has a letter from a "Constant Reader" which, in part, as follows: "The 30th of May calls for an outlay of sentiment, and cash, and both must be used wisely if this unique occasion shall not topple to oblivion." We do not like to see things topple to oblivion, so we hope that the writer of the letter will be able to turn on the tap of sentiment, and that there will also be a lively dripping from the cash tap. The two go together now, and should never be separated.

The Washington, D. C., "Bee," which is printed in the interest of the negro, says editorially:—

"Some time has elapsed since the Afro-American Council has begun to collect funds to test the constitutionality of certain state laws, affecting the political status of colored American citizens in the southern states."

"Much advertisement, speech-making and many other ingenious inventions have been resorted to to arouse public interest and collect the necessary money, but without apparent success."

Then it is quite evident that the persons concerned, that is, the negroes, do not themselves take any great interest in this question: It is apparent, and has been for some time, that the "negro question" was one of the articles of the politicians' stock in trade.

The "Times," referring to the supposed attempt on the life of Emperor Francis Joseph, says: "That the essence of anarchism is mere blind brutishness was never more vividly shown than in the attempt, happily frustrated, upon the life of Francis Joseph." This method of arguing "vividly shows" the ignorance that underlies the method of thinking employed by the "Times."

It would be just as logical to say that nothing illustrates more vividly the blind brutishness of republicanism than the water cure, unhappily not frustrated, as administered to the natives of the Philippine Islands. Nothing illustrates more vividly the blind brutishness of democracy than the Bull Pen, unhappily not frustrated, as perpetrated by the Democrats of Idaho. Nothing illustrates the blind brutishness of a limited monarchy than the murders, unhappily not frustrated, carried on wholesale by the Australian troops in the Transvaal. Nothing illustrates more vividly the blind brutishness of an absolute monarchy than the treatment given the political prisoners by the Czar of Russia. The "Times" should get a ten-years-old child to do its editorial thinking for it. The existence of anarchism is something other than blind brutishness, and that something other is the narrow and pernicious habit of placing the individual above society, and attributing to the individual the work, good or bad, that society alone can make possible.

The "Virginian-Pilot" grows angry over the action of a judge who summoned an editor before him and fined him for contempt of court in having criticized his—the judge's—decision in a liquor case. The "Virginian-Pilot" says: "When did it come to pass in Virginia that an Official Class was established, and so hedged about with sanctity that criticism of it became a felony before the law?" It came to pass the instant a class got into its own hands complete control of the courts, and the rest of the machinery of government. The "Virginian-Pilot" does not object to the principle; what it does object to is the turning of that principle from its usual ordinary use—that is, oppression of the working class—and its application within the capitalist class, as in the case cited above.

It is well to have a laugh once in a while, so for that reason we produce the following paragraph from the "Nebraska Independent," (Populist):

"Here are the socialists still trying to propagate the idea that this country can produce so much that no one will be able to get work after a while and the whole republican party back up the idea by declaring that we must engage in foreign wars to get markets or the wage-workers will have nothing to do, and then comes the pop along and smiles serenely, saying: 'Don't worry, my brothers. This is a great country and we have only scratched the surface of it here and there. We could give every able man work for the next hundred years making roads and irrigating the arid west. Don't worry. There is no good in it at all. There will never be an overproduction of goods as long as men have unsatisfied wants. There will never be any lack of employment as long as we have a large volume of money in circulation which is a full legal tender. But if you must worry, then set your eyes on the bankers and the men who manipulate the money supply.'"

The wisdom of the above is enough to make the head spin round, and the mind to rattle against the walls of the cranium like a lone Populist voice in the land of its birth and once pousse.

HEAVY PENALTIES FOR STRIKERS.

Paterson, N. J., May 23.—Judge Francis Scott to-day, in the Special Sessions Court, sentenced the men who were convicted of "rioting" during the strike of the dyers' helpers in this city. The first man sentenced was Gerold Mistoll. He is the man who threw a large rock at Police Sergeant Halstead, while the latter was doing police duty at the Kinscher & Maas mills. The rock missed the sergeant and struck a telegraph pole. Judge Scott sentenced him to two years in State prison at hard labor.

Bernad Fortin and Louis Secand were each sentenced to one year. They are two of the three men who made an assault on the Weldemann works, and drove all the employees into the street. The third man, John Bello, was sentenced to one year and six months. He was caught in the act of breaking down the gates of the Weldemann works.

Louis Casper and Angelo Benjamin received one year each. They were convicted of assault and battery on the non-union workmen who were working at the Rogers Locomotive Works, during a strike at the works.

BIG COLONIZATION SCHEME. Ottawa, Canada, May 23.—It is reported that a colonization company with a capital of \$3,500,000 composed of Minneapolis Duluth and western Canadian interests, has purchased 1,100,000 acres of valuable farm lands in Assiniboia and Saskatchewan. These lands already have good railway facilities and within a few months will be intersected by the main line of the Canadian Northern, the Mackenzie & Mann Road now under course of construction.



Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan.

BROTHER JONATHAN.—I have joined the "Tax Reformers' League of Tax-Payers."

UNCLE SAM.—What on earth have you, a workingman, got to do with tax reform and tax-payers?

B. J.—Am I not a tax-payer?

U. S.—Not that I know of.

B. J.—Why, of course I am.

U. S.—Do you own land?

B. J.—Go away, no!

U. S.—Do you own houses?

B. J.—Stop your gadding; of course not!

U. S.—Do you own any other property on which taxes are levied, say jewelry, fine furniture, machinery?

B. J.—Now, don't go on that way; you know I am as poor as a church mouse.

U. S.—Which is another way of saying as poor as a workingman or wage-slave, eh?

B. J.—Yes, certainly.

U. S.—This being thus, what do you pay taxes on, pray?

B. J.—Am I not a workingman?

U. S.—Yes.

B. J.—Is not labor the producer of all wealth?

U. S.—Yes.

B. J.—Are not taxes wealth?

U. S.—Yes.

B. J.—Why, then, it follows that I, as a member of Labor, pay the taxes, and that lower taxes will make me better off.

U. S.—Oh! Did you read the account of our employers' ball last week, how my employer's wife had a diamond necklace on worth \$5,000?

B. J.—Yes, and MY employer's wife had on a Brussels lace bodice worth \$6,500.

U. S.—Are that diamond necklace and that Brussels lace bodice wealth or not?

B. J.—Wealth, of course.

U. S.—Produced by labor or produced by capital?

B. J.—(With a look of disgust)—"By capital"? Of course not, by labor!

U. S.—Now, suppose your employer and mine had not bought that necklace and bodice, would you and I be in pocket the amount of money that they cost? Would we be the possessors of that \$11,500? Would our wages have gone up any higher?

B. J.—(Scratches his ears, and after meditating awhile, during which a drop of perspiration appears on his forehead)—No. We would not have been in that much more money. Our wages would not have been any higher. We would have been just as badly off as we now are. It would have made no difference to us.

U. S.—Yet that necklace and bodice are wealth, and as such, are the product of labor.

B. J.—Yes, they are.

U. S.—Would you, in the face of these facts, say that, seeing luxury is wealth and labor produces all wealth, therefore you pay for luxury, and lower or less luxury will make you better off?

B. J.—I wish there were something around here that I could sit on. I feel my head swimming.—This thing looks mixed up.—Let me see.—As Labor produces all wealth, and diamond necklaces and Brussels lace bodices are wealth, it does seem as if Labor paid for them.—But yet—

U. S.—Go on; guess you are on the right track—

B. J.—And yet I feel mixed up.—Let me see.—If I am the man who pays for a thing; then it must follow that if the thing is not bought, I have not paid for it, and I must be in pocket the money that the thing would have cost.

U. S.—Correct! Go on, my boy, you are doing first rate, though rather slow; go on.

B. J.—If, then, I am no more money in pocket in case the thing was not bought, then (very deliberately)—I CAN'T BE THE ONE THAT PAYS FOR IT. Ain't it?

U. S.—Just so. Go on!

B. J.—I can't. Here I am stuck fast. Help me out if you can. I feel like one sinking in quicksand.

U. S.—Just look on to me, and I'll pull you out. If I go faster than you can hang on, sing out, and I will slack up. Now listen. Your pickle comes first from the wrong, the misleading use you make of the word PAY. Now, hold tight! Does a man PAY out of what he HAS NOT or out of what HE HAS?

B. J.—How can a man pay out of what he has not. He pays, of course, out of what he has.

U. S.—Correct.—Now, did we ever have in our hands the \$11,500 that our employers expended in Brussels lace bodices and diamond necklaces?

B. J.—(Decidedly hot in the collar)—Did we? No, by thunder!

U. S.—I am glad of your emphasis. Now, stick a pin there. We did not pay for them for the simple reason that we did not have the wealth to pay with. This clears up the point why less luxury enjoyed by the employer does not mean more wealth left to us. Whether the employer indulges in luxuries or not, and whether he drops one kind of luxury and changes it for another, we are no poorer and no richer, because these luxuries are paid for by WEALTH THAT NEVER WAS IN OUR HANDS.

B. J.—That's certainly so.

U. S.—Now, hold tight again. We are now approaching the roughest part of the road. Our capitalist employer does not work; consequently he does not produce

any wealth. Nevertheless he has all the wealth needed to buy luxuries with. As labor is the sole producer of all wealth, and our employer, who is an idler, cannot produce any, it follows that the wealth he buys the luxuries with, he must have gobbled up from us, his working-men, who produced it.

B. J.—Just so!

U. S.—Hold tight! Here we are face to face with the central problem. We are the sole producers of all wealth; the employer, despite his being an idler, has the bulk of it to pay with for luxuries. He must have gobbled it up, and from us. But it never was in our hands. When, where, and how did he do the gobbling up? Upon the correct answer to this question depends the solution of the problem of taxation, and the wisdom or folly of much of the tactics of the Labor Movement.

B. J.—Yes; WHERE, WHEN, and HOW?

U. S.—WHERE? IN THE SHOP. WHEN? ON PAY DAY. HOW? THROUGH THE SYSTEM OF CAPITALISM OR WAGE SLAVERY: The wages we are given are only a small part of the wealth we produce. These wages represent the price of our labor in the market. Labor, under this system of wage slavery, is not considered a human being at all; it is only a merchandise. The value of all merchandise depends upon the cost of production. So with us, the merchandise Labor. Our price, that is, our wages, is simply the cost of keeping us alive and able to produce. This is the law of wages; and thus it comes that although we produce all the stupendous wealth of the nation, our share is small; and that just in proportion to the increased wealth we produce, our share becomes smaller.

B. J.—Heaven knows, that's so.

U. S.—Now you know the WHERE, WHEN, and HOW of the gobbling up.

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—Knowing it, you can no longer feel stuck at the sight of the fact that although we are the sole producers of all wealth, we do not PAY for the luxuries that our employers indulge in. Those luxuries ARE paid for with wealth that we produce, but they are not paid for by US because the wealth that buys them is stolen from us before it reaches our hands; they are paid for by that portion of our product that is stolen from us anyhow.

B. J.—But—

U. S.—One moment. You may consider this position too technical to be worth insisting on—

CORRESPONDENCE.

Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will at each close name to their communications, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.

As to the S. T. & L. A.

First—What should be the attitude of the S. T. & L. A. on the subject of the economic organization of labor? Should it hold such organizations to be needed, or to be wholly needless?

Second—What is the present attitude of the S. T. & L. A. towards the pure and simple trades organization?

Third—What should be the attitude of the S. T. & L. A. towards pure and simple organizations?

Fourth—Does the S. T. & L. A. need the S. T. & L. A. to expose and overthrow the pure and simple organizations?

Fifth—Does the connection of the S. T. & L. A. with the S. T. & L. A. strengthen or weaken the Socialist Movement, and in what way?

[The Roman figure over each letter indicates the numerical order in which the letter was received since the debate started under the Curran system. The Curran letter inaugurating that system is numbered Letter I.]

XXXIV.

1. To say that the attitude of the S. T. & L. A. on the subject of the economic organization of labor should be that such an organization is needed, is not putting it strong enough. The S. T. & L. A. MUST HAVE AN ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION. The words political economy, to the class conscious masses, is a blinding phrase, and the capitalist class understands from experience the necessity of this combination. Full well do they know that the one cannot work without the other, the working class have been, and are now blindly endeavoring to accomplish something through the purely economic organization, while various reform parties seek to do something by purely political action, thus these two forces constantly at work befuddle the working class. There is no discord in the ranks of the capitalist class as to the politico-economic organization, for they are a unit on the economic field, and when necessary combine their forces on the political field to beat the workers. Neither should there be any discord in the ranks of the working class as to a politico-economic organization. And THERE MUST NOT BE ANY DISCORD. In the above sense, the S. T. & L. A. for it is the politico-economic organization for the emancipation of the working class.

But the S. T. & L. A. has to deal with all forms of organization, not because it wants to, but because it is forced to. Hence, as we look upon it at first, two-thirds of our time is "wasted" in battling with freaks, frauds and fakirs, and therefore the workers have been deprived of that much of the scientific teaching of Socialism. But upon a second look, we discover there is more to be taught than simply scientific Socialism. The middle class, together with all their forms of organization, must be wiped out, and so must all the economic organizations of the working class, that are not revolutionary, be displaced by that that is revolutionary. Socialism grew out of necessity and its progress to-day is as necessity demands, and its propagators understand the necessity. Had those who launched the S. T. & L. A. in this country understood that it was necessary to launch a politico-economic organization, it would have been done. It matters not at the present time as to the necessity, the ignorance of the necessity, or the inability of the S. T. & L. A. at that time to cope with the situation. One thing we do know. Necessity demands such an organization to-day.

A hand full of unconscious middle class working men launched the S. T. & L. A. in this country. The economic labor organization at that time was not capitalistically controlled, and fakir-ridden as it is to-day, and the S. T. & L. A. thought to induce Socialism by things into those unions. There is no need to mention, for we are acquainted with this failure. The only mistake, if mistake it may be called, was in carrying on this plan too long. It was kept up until from the ranks of the fakir-led organization came the demand for a more scientific economic organization, and the S. T. & L. A. was against it—there was nothing left, as I can see, for them to do but launch the S. T. & L. A. They might, had it not been for the condition of the membership in the S. T. & L. A., blended the two at that time, but middle class business men, a few shyder lawyers and sky-pirates, together with the labor fakirs, made up the majority of the membership, hence Working Class politics and Working Class economics could not be introduced in one organization with such a state of membership. So the S. T. & L. A. served as a cleanser, and if it never did any more good, this is enough to keep it intact as a relic. But it is still as useful in this capacity as ever. We must therefore keep it intact, as it is until the time arrives when the two can be blended into one.

2 and 3. The present attitude of the S. T. & L. A. towards the pure and simple unions is that of hostility, and should continue to be hostile, only more openly hostile. And for this reason:

4. The S. T. & L. A. needs the S. T. & L. A. for it would be insane to fight the pure and simple unions having no better form of unionism to offer in its stead. Hence the S. T. & L. A. serves to fight the fakir-led economic organization, and is a home for the rank and file when wrested from the fakirs.

5. As stated in the first question, there are other teachings beside simply scientific Socialism. We yet have too many abstract men in our Movement, and this debate is serving as a boiling of these to consciousness, for Socialism is the abstract Socialism. Modern scientific Socialism up to date must embody both Socialism in the abstract and in the concrete; and, as soon as it is possible, the

economic and political must be embraced in the one organization, completely ignoring pure and simple unionism, not allowing our members to hold a membership in them.

Until that time arrives we must keep intact the S. T. & L. A., as it is. The S. T. & L. A. strengthens the S. T. & L. A. in a concrete sense.

On with the fight Comrades, let there be no falling off for victory is ours.

Wm. W. COX.

Collinsville, Ill.

[Two other letters have come in, one from George Aspdon, San Francisco, Cal., and one from "An Alliance Cigar Maker." They are both ruled out. The former, because it proceeds from a non-Party member; the second, because, even if it should be from a Party member, it is anonymous. Since the debate was placed on the basis of the Curran System, it has been stated, and more than once repeated, that none but S. T. & L. A. members are allowed the floor, and that the members must give their names in full.—ED. THE PEOPLE.]

Just the Same Everywhere.

To the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE—Taunton also had the honor of a visit from the Honorable Weeping Jeems and his associate, Fred McCartney. The meeting was advertised with handbills in true Kangaroo style: "Mr. James Carey and Frederick McCartney, members of the Massachusetts Legislature, will lecture on Trades Unionism and Socialism. All those interested in the movement are cordially invited," etc.

No word about what "movement," what party. The cat would have been out of the bag too early. She had to jump; but it was not until at the close of the meeting when the bogus was mentioned: the "Multi-Cocoa Socialist Party," alias "Social Democratic Party," alias "Democratic Social," alias "Public Ownership Party," while Mr. Mc after an exhibition of East Indian jugglery appealed to those present (not many) to "form a section."

What is this appeal for, anyhow? Debs in 1900 made the same blunder. There is a local of them here, and a numerically strong one, too. It consumes an untold quantity of beer each week. Its members sing the "best German songs": "Die Freiheit" and others, and it allows its members the most elaborate freedom a Socialist could wish for, a freedom the members of the narrow S. T. & L. A. never would dream about. It allows them to vote in Republican and Democratic caucuses, it allows them to put their names on nomination papers of any color, and still be "a Socialist of the clearest water," provided you always spend enough of your earnings in intoxicating beverages to keep the hall going.

I had heard so much about Carey that I was not quite sure which of the two speakers the honor of all those attributes could fall to. Coming late, I did not know who was speaking, Carey or Mc. If I had to decide by their performances, I would have exchanged names, for Mc was the biggest juggler. Carey even was blurred in his ideas about "labor" and "labor power"—he mixed up Marx grandly.

Then he styled the economic movement the "defensive," and the political the "offensive" weapon of the working class. Nonsense! Carey had to take a train. After looking several times at his watch, he left the stage, and hall to let his light shine elsewhere.

Mc's features were a study as well as his speech. Too bad for the wind wasted. We could have had all the wind we wanted outside of the hall.

The meeting closed as the performance started. There was something to hide, something to be suppressed to more intelligent hearers, and so the usual way of closing every Socialist meeting in having questions asked and answered was dispensed with. But the chairman invited everybody to shake hands with Mc, who was not so anxious to take a train and sneak off, as his copartner, Carey.

By the way, I had a chance to look at "The Worker," the "Volkzeitung" English poodle, of late, and its contents were just as flabby, as borrowed, as freakish, as bogus as this meeting and the whole outfit.

MAX BOEWIE.

Taunton, Mass., May 16.

"Labor Bosses" in Minneapolis.

To the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE—I became a member of the Plumbers' Labor Union in Minneapolis in November, 1899, and feel it my duty to expose the new method of "Fakedom" adopted by the labor bosses.

At the start of the union, in April of the same year, the bosses and men were paid alike, at \$1.75 per day; but since then, beginning in 1900, we were paid \$1.80 per day of 9 hours, and \$2.25 for bosses. This raise of wages we attempted to get through the Trade and Labor Council of Minneapolis, sending delegates twice to that body for that purpose, that when the employers were seen they said they never had heard anything about it from the Council.

Again in 1901 we made another attempt to get an advance, by a reduction of hours to 8 hours per day at the same rate as for 9 hours for both bosses and men. This application was also sent three times to the Trade and Labor Council with the same result as in the previous year. The employers knew nothing about it. The union had at this time to call three special meetings for the purpose of taking the matter into their own hands, and when a laborer would bring about his opinion of the Trade and Labor Council, the question was declared out of order. So the final result was that employers offered the bosses \$2.25 for an eight-hour day, but the laborers were to receive only \$1.75 per day, with this addition, that it went from 9 hours' work to 8 hours' slavery per day.

Now this year the laborers were going to demand \$2 per day, with \$2.50 for bosses, but the employers anticipated this demand by paying the bosses \$2.50 per day six weeks before the time set for an advance, which makes it evident that they hoped to have the bosses fight us in the union of which they and we are members. And so they did, for I personally questioned one of the bosses who was paid \$2.75 per day if he thought

we were likely to succeed in getting \$2 and he bluntly told me that he did not think so, and also refused to do anything whatever to help the members of the union to get that advance.

You will see by the foregoing that in the union we have got an advance to bosses from \$1.75 per day of 10 hours to an average of \$2.50 per day of 8 hours and now they have become the servants and lackeys of the employers, and are fighting us at every point in the union.

I, for one, am absolutely sick of unions of the pure and simple type, and would wish you to give this communication the utmost publicity you can, as it will be used to good effect in the coming campaign in Minneapolis.

Charley Lundstrom.

Minneapolis, Minn., May 15.

CONNECTICUT GAYETIES.

I.

"Our Own Julius" Misses It Again.

TO THE DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE.—It may not be amiss to let the Comrades all over the country know what happened in the headquarters of section Hartford, S. L. P. Hall, on Monday evening, May 5th.

There were only a limited number of Comrades present, when a gentleman put in his appearance introducing himself as a "Mr. Casey of Boston." The Comrades are thoroughly acquainted with what the Social Democratic Kangaroo call means; but this man beats all records by a long range.

Under the pretence of "seeking information" regarding the Socialist Movement, he started a conversation with the Comrades.

It lasted but a short time, and the nigger in the woodpile appeared. The gent proved to be a Kangaroo of very rapid disposition, and was possessed of a very slick tongue, that enabled him to jump from one subject to another in the most approved Kangaroo style. To impress the Comrades with his ability he stated that he was capable of "turning the verdict of a jury around."

"In that case you may be one of the lawyers which the Poyntonial party is 'lousy with,' according to the statement of V. L. Berger, of Milwaukee, a leading member of your party," put in a Comrade.

In short almost every subject in sight was touched. Jimmy Carey was "the best man," had worked 22 years!!! at the bench. Municipal ownership came next. The S. L. P. was dead and dying. They would wipe us out next fall here in Hartford, which statement provoked a roar of laughter from the Comrades. The S. L. P. "impedes the Socialist Movement," is in "pay of the capitalist class" to a purpose, and so on, and so forth.

Comrades Hodel, Brewer, and Lechner drove nails in each and every statement of his. The hammer blows fell thick and fast. The temperature grew warm in S. L. P. headquarters.

Realizing that his ability "to turn a jury's verdict" did not work with S. L. P. men, he challenged us to debate the merits of both parties.

To call the bluff on the spot, our organizer accepted the challenge and drew up the agreement to debate on: "Resolved that the S. L. P. retards the Socialist Movement in America." Mr. Carey to take the affirmative and a representative of section Hartford, S. L. P. the negative. The debate to take place on the first Friday in June.

The organizer signed the agreement and invited that personified mixture of freak, fraud and fakir to sign also.

Right there and then he crawled into his hole; he wanted to know who would be his opponent, as if the agreement did not state enough.

But once more he rallied, saying: "It is undeniable that the Socialist Labor Party is a party of stagnation, and the Socialist Party is the party of progress. The election returns in Milwaukee prove that conclusively."

The answer came upon him like a bolt from a clear sky. The "Social Democratic Herald" of May 4th, received from the mails that very evening, was produced and the article, "As a Result of Our Agitation," on the editorial page was read. The main point in that article was that A MEETING OF SALOON-KEEPERS AND OTHER BUSINESS MEN passed resolutions IN FAVOR OF A PUBLIC ICE PLANT.

The proof of Social Democratic progress, taken from their own Social Democratic Herald staggered our friend.

Running up against the Buzz-Saw of the S. L. P. was evidently a more difficult task than to "turn a jury's verdict around."

The air in headquarters became decidedly uncomfortable, and Casey prepared to depart.

Before leaving he offered to shake hands with the organizer, but was answered:

"We are not in the habit of shaking hands with sneaks and crooks."

That ended the affair.

That evening another well calculated scheme of the fertile brain of "our own and only Julius," went to smash!

We learn that this Mr. Casey is an insurance agent. Does any Boston Comrade know him?

TAURUS.

Hartford, Conn., May 17, 1902.

II.

"Our Own Gaylord" in Fantastics.

TO THE DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE.—On the last of April, the Kangaroos in this town held one of their successful failures.

The attraction was a "Lecture on Trusts," by H. Gaylord Wilshire.

Warner Hall, one of the finest in New Haven, located on Chapel street, opposite Vanderbilt Dormitory, the finest lodging house owned by the Yale University Corporation, was rented and the meeting was heralded by the newspapers, and "4 feet 2 by 3 feet 4 lithographs of the lecturer in seven colors—i. e., the lithographs—which can be obtained free of charge by writing him care of Wilshire's Magazine, Toronto, Can."

Seats were distributed liberally around the hall, in all accommodation for not less than 400 persons—and doors were open about 7:30 P. M. The lecture was to commence at 8, but it was 8:40 when the stage was occupied. While the

audience was awaiting the appearance of the lecturer, one of the members of the Websterianites went among them offering literature for sale. One of the books offered had for a title: "A Political Quack-Doctor," and sold at 2 cents per. It was a toss-up whether I bought one, or sent this letter, but right always wins. I did not see the contents of the book, but strongly suspect that one of their "Intellectuals" heard some remarks by another of the species at one of their "Kaffee Klatches" which he could not approve of and consequently got square.

At 8:40 the platform was carried by assault by the lecturer and William E. White, late State secretary, who acted as chairman.

The chairman in a steady flow of language, resembling the rush of ten drops of molasses from a barrel in the month of February, stated that "there were trusts in the country, and that he knew it; that the lecturer was also aware of their existence, in fact that the lecturer knew more about them than he did, and possibly no man was more familiar than he, consequently he had been engaged for the lecture, and it was now his pleasure to introduce comrade H. Gaylord Wilshire, the publisher of Wilshire's Magazine." In pronouncing the name "Gaylord," cut the "gay" very short, and lengthen the "lord" as long as a country deacon's prayer.

In acknowledgement of the introduction, H. Gaylord arose to his feet, resplendent in a full-dress suit, with a "White Westcott" expanded shirt front, collar that would make a beautiful sign-board, black necktie and a red carnation on his satin coat collar, with just a suspicion that he is a walking ad for a Corset Manufacturer. If he could have been seen by some of "our best citizens," I could see the name "Solomon" cut away from "in all his glory," etc., and the name "Gaylord" substituted.

When he had assumed a posture suitable to the necessities of his oratorical office, H. Gaylord pronounced himself as very much dissatisfied with the size of the audience, viz 6 S. L. P. men, 5 single-taxers, one Democratic Alderman, one Yale professor, and about 60 Kangaroos and 8 women.

He said it was evident to him that Socialism was not taking as well as it did when he was here last (11 years ago, when he had the S. L. P. back of him, and had not yet Kangaroed), and the audiences were now smaller. Then he indulged in a giggle like a lady of uncertain age, part simper and the other part chuckle.

Then he said he was surprised that President Hadley, of Yale, had not accepted his challenge to debate (tendered I believe, 11 years ago), also, said he, at one time he was surprised that many other college professors had not debated with him—that he had offered some of them twice as much money for a debate, as they received for a course of lectures on Economics, but none of them had bit at the bait, but said he, I DO NOT BLAME THEM NOW. It is better to work a year for low wages than receive \$100 for a single debate and then lose your job, "for money, put your conscience in your pocket." "Truly a worthy member of the Kangs."

After he had recovered from another attack of giggles he went off on a discussion of the brains of a workman and the brains of chickens. The chicken in the egg. The egg in the shell, and—Well my interest in chickens—not being a poultry raiser or versed on henology is only mercenary and not making any material difference with me as far as my class interests are concerned, whether my Thanksgiving dinner has brains or not, I gracefully joined many of the Kangaroos present and slid into a state of coma, from which I awoke some time after by hearing the word "mules." My awakening was rather abrupt, and for a time I thought the lecturer was poking fun at some of his audience. But I found he had entered the field of economics. He said the working class get their pay in the same manner as a Connecticut farmer pays his mules. If a farmer has mules upon his farm he feeds them oats. If he is raising cabbage and the supply and demand is large the farmer makes money and the mules get their oats. But if the supply is small and the demand small, the farmer makes a failure, loses money, but his mules get oats just the same.

The working class are paid in the same way. (Some more giggles in which the S. L. P. men joined, for when the owners of the human mules fail in business, the said mules have to hustle like good fellows to find somebody else to give us our oats. In this we are unlike the other mules in H. Gaylord's Kangaroo economics.

He then delved into the subject of his lecture (?) (supposedly "trusts") but for some reason he seemed ill-at-ease. He walked up and down the platform. They took a chair and placing the "business portion of it against his knees, he bent over it until it seemed as if he was trying to see how far he could bend over without falling on his face. Then he would sit on the edge of the table and place his hands to his hips while a look of "why don't they put side pockets in these" would flit over the afore-mentioned index. After a few minutes more exertion, trying to keep his audience from falling asleep, he stated he had covered the general scope of the question and would be pleased to answer any questions, upon his lecture.

The chairman then took a whack at us by saying "the audience were cordially invited to drop something in the hat as they went out, to help defray the expense of the meeting." Also advised the audience to read Wilshire's magazine. He read it and could recommend it. Other people wrote articles for it besides H. Gaylord, (special inducement no doubt), and then said that in order to introduce the magazine in New Haven the price had been reduced to subscribers to 50 cents per year and 25 cents for six months for that evening only (come early and avoid the rush). Then he asked if any one in the audience wished to question the lecturer upon the subject of the lecture (?) But the S. L. P. men having dignified the meeting sufficiently by their presence refrained from shortening our night's sleep, as nothing could be gained.

Then H. Gaylord called the chairman over to him and whispered to him. White nodded, and then advancing to where the foot lights should have been said he would like to ask the speaker "how we would take possession of the trusts?"

H. Gaylord timidly asserted we would take them and that was all there was about it, the question of paying for them was entirely out of order as very shortly the trusts would own the earth and if we took that away from the magnates we could only pay by giving it back to them. He then took up the question of his magazine and stated that he had been refused the second rate mail privilege because the assistant post-master general could not draw a distinction between a paper advertising pork and beans or other assorted merchandise, and the advertising of H. Gaylord's intellectual junk; (which he was pleased to call "his ideas"). He had interviewed Senators and Representatives but those who could do something did not; and those who could not said it was "too bad." He then started in to publish his magazine in Toronto, Canada, where he was getting a postage rate of one cent a pound. The United States Government distributed his paper and received nothing for so doing. (The Democratic alderman, who is also president of the single-taxers exhibited a little enthusiasm just here by clapping his hands moderately.) H. Gaylord stated that his magazine subscription list was growing at the rate of 1,000 per week and he had decided as the chairman had said to reduce the price for that evening to 50 cents per year.

The same day I received from a comrade in Chicago, a copy of the "Chicago Socialist" of the week previous in Wilshire's ad, it stated the regular subscription price was 50 cents per year. (Wilshire & White Buncoing practically done.) The meeting then adjourned.

The Kangaroos in this state are calling upon their members to patronize local speakers while the weather is favorable for out-door work. We will help them if we can.

ERNEST T. OATLEY.

New Haven, Ct., May 17.

"Prosperity" in Calgary, Canada.

TO THE DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE.—Prosperity is the watch-word. Yes, indeed, we are prosperous. "Our lumber dealers are selling more lumber; our stores are selling more goods; our railroads are carrying more freight; the land companies are selling more land and everything is on the boom." Those were the words of a local politician the other evening. And everybody whooped her up for J. J. Young, "Editor and Publisher of the Calgary Herald," who is out for all the votes that he can get in the Calgary district.

Mr. Young is trying to perform the wonderful acrobatic feat of being for and against everybody and everything. Mr. Young is a most wonderful man. He is against everything but Young and votes. While he knows nothing about politics or how production is carried on, and much less about workingmen, he tells the wage-slaves that they should vote for him, because, "you know, I was a workman myself once." Also, "if you wish to continue our present prosperity you should send me to Regina to represent you."

Mr. Young, however, is not the only one who is looking for votes. There is Hugh McLeod. He also has ambitions for office, and he will give Young a good run for the office. Each one has his particular hobby for getting votes. Young runs the "Herald," and McLeod runs the Grand Central Hotel. So Young will tell you that the "Herald" will see that the workingmen get justice; while McLeod tells the boys that as long as he has run a hotel no workman ever wanted for a meal or a drink of good whiskey. If straws show which way the wind blows McLeod will get the votes, for the workingmen of Calgary realize that they can live longer on one meal than on forty pages of justice, such as the "Herald" keeps in stock.

But there is one thing that they both agree on, and that is that we (Young and McLeod), are enjoying great prosperity.

Well, let us see just how prosperous we, the workingmen, are in this particular part of the world. Here the farmers are called the back-bone of the country, so we will do well to start with the back bone.

If you go in search of a job on a farm, you will need a strong telescope and a search warrant, besides a full stock of grit and energy. And after having discovered one, you proceed to make a bargain. How much do you pay? is asked by the workman. Twenty dollars per month, is the answer; but you are obliged to furnish your own bed. Then you will be obliged to wait for your pay until the grain is threshed, and marketed, and if no money lender has a mortgage on it, you will get your pay, after having worked 16 hours per day all summer. So much for the prosperity of the farm hand.

Next, let us take the men on the Canadian Pacific Railway. If you make application for work, you are obliged to fill out a personal record, to show that you have always been an obedient slave. After having satisfied the company that you would not raise your voice to protect your interests, you are allowed to work for the magnificent sum of 11 cents per hour, while you must pay \$5.25 per week for board. Then you might possibly get a job digging sewers, provided you are a resident of the city and can prove that your wife and family are starving. For that you will get \$1.75 per day of ten hours.

Now, \$20 per month, 11 cents per hour, and \$1.75 per day may look like fair pay, but when you take into consideration the price of board, which is \$5.25 per week, clothing double the price it is in the East, and everything in proportion, there is not much left to lay away for a rainy day. Still we are told that we are prosperous. Now, if you will take five minutes to think of this grand and glorious Northwest are being unmercifully robbed, and all the politicians and pure and simple trades unionists in East Calgary or West Calgary cannot make you think otherwise.

Workingmen, it is time you put your thinking caps on, and do some good, hard thinking for yourselves. Remember that you belong to the Working Class, and that your only hope is in political action, and that the Socialist Labor Party is the only political party that stands for the

Working Class and Working Class only. H. SCHWARTZ. Calgary, Alberta, Canada, May 10.

One More on Tobin.

TO THE DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE.—Here is a rich one or the impure and simple organized scabbery. There are in Buffalo four or five Strootman Brothers, and they run two shoe factories there. John Strootman runs the large s.o.p., where the make one thousand pairs a day, and the small shop is making about two hundred a day, and is run by the other three brothers, with John the largest stockholder.

Tobin's label was taken and used in the small shop early last summer, after Tobin had written three or four times telling them what a good thing the label was. Now, in the small shop (Strootman Shoe Co.), they were paying less wages—week help as well as piece workers—claiming they were making a cheaper shoe than in John Strootman's.

I was working in John's when the organizer of Tobin's "Union" tried to "organize" the shop. He failed, as I had one of the men call a meeting for a Sunday afternoon, and Comrade Stewart spoke to them. But we could do nothing with the girls, and without the girls they could not win. (So it was a loss for the S. T. & L. A.)

But we forced the organizer to leave town without organizing.

So Strootman Brothers had to do the organizing themselves. The men fought for a raise in pay but did not get it. Now, the organized scabbery knew that the two shops were virtually one. Now I have a letter from Buffalo saying they had a strike in John Strootman's against a reduction; that they were out three days, and a fellow by the name of Charlie Spring, agent for the Niggerhead, got a lot of scabs; and that, the men not being organized, gave up; and finally that, as they went back, they were compelled to join the Tobin union and take the same prices they are paid in the label shop.

Put one more nail in the coffin of Tobin's fraud game.

I will write to Buffalo for more particulars.

HENRY ENGEL.

Rochester, N. Y., May 20.

Challenged, No Response.

TO THE DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE.—The enclosed, which speaks for itself, has drawn no response.

G. H. ROYAL.

Lampasas, Tex., May 13.

(Enclosure.)

Lampasas, Tex., April 7, 1902. Rev. Frank W. Merrick, Ph.D., Rosedale, Mass.

In the "Christian Register" of December 26, 1901, I find an article by you as a member of the Labor Conference held in New York under the auspices of the National Civic Federation. In this you say: "The wage-earner is not a serf, much less a slave, but a man."

Your meaning is not very clear. Born and raised in the midst of slavery, I have seen thousands of slaves, and they were all human beings—men, women and children. A slave is a human being, the property of his fellow man who may be bought and sold as a chattel. The 13th Amendment, Section 1, reads: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist in the United States or in any place subject to the jurisdiction thereof."

"Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

We hold that the wage-earner and tenant farmer, being deprived of the means of self-support through private ownership of the indispensable means of making a living—the land and tools of production—are left in a condition of involuntary servitude contrary to the Constitution.

If you can spare the TIME, we would like to debate this question with you through the columns of any newspaper or magazine you may select.

Each side to have three articles of not more than five hundred words each.

G. H. ROYAL.

Also Challenged, Response Awaited.

TO THE DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE.—The enclosed is a copy of a letter I have this day forwarded to the Editor of the Seattle, Wash., "Socialist." I wonder whether the editor of that paper considers such a statement as he makes "argument," and whether it is his belief he can abuse with impunity.

MICHAEL T. BERRY.

Haverhill, Mass., May 14.

(Enclosure.)

To the Editor of the "Socialist," Seattle, Washington:

OFFICIAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—
Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA
—W. S. Corbin, Secretary, 70 Colborne street, London, Ontario.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY—
2-6 New Reade street. (The Party's literary agency.)
Notice—For technical reasons, no Party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Regular meeting held on May 23, 1902, at 2-6 New Reade street. Eber Forbes in the chair. All members present. Financial report laid over until next meeting.

The Editor of THE PEOPLE appeared before the committee, accompanied by Comrade Justus Ebert, who is to take charge during the Editor's leave of absence, and presented the general line of conduct, which, with the approval of the N. E. C., he has pursued in conducting THE PEOPLE, to serve Ebert for guidance. Comrade Lucien Sanial has agreed to furnish regularly, editorial and other matter, but cannot come to the office but once a week, being unable for private reasons to leave his residence at Northport, L. I., for any length of time. The Editor also referred to the N. E. C. a communication from a committee of the S. L. P. of Rhode Island. Resolved: That the N. E. C. answer the committee of the S. L. P. of Rhode Island, and issue forthwith all the documents in the matter to the Party membership. Vote on this motion, taken by roll call, was: In favor, Forbes, Gillhaus, Hammer, Katz, Kinnally and Klein. Against: Sift. It was further resolved to hold a special meeting on May 26 for the purpose of passing upon the draft of the answer to be made to the Rhode Island committee.

Section Hartford, Conn., reported expulsion of Anthony F. Donahue for having worked and voted for the Democratic party at the last municipal election. Cincinnati, Ohio, requested information upon matters that could best be given by the Ohio State Committee and the Section has been referred to that committee. New Haven, Conn., and Newark, N. J., reports as to work for the DAILY PEOPLE. Bethlehem, Pa., asked for speaker which request will be complied with. Canadian S. L. P. sent communication relative to joint representation at Amsterdam International Congress. Secretary instructed to reply that N. E. C. has communicated with Parti Ouvrier Francaise and Irish Socialist Republican Party and will inform Canadian S. L. P. as soon as answer has been received. Albany, N. Y., reported about the matter of Italian club formed at Troy, N. Y., about which complaint had been received from Troy. The matter having been satisfactorily settled, was dropped.

In the matter of letters of complaint received from Los Angeles, Cal., and Erie, Pa., relative to pamphlets offered for sale by an individual member, the Secretary was instructed to reply that, while the N. E. C. would prefer to see such literature handled by the Labor News Co., it cannot make a ruling such as is evidently desired by the correspondents, and that they had better communicate their objections direct to the Party member in question.

A letter was received from Vladimir Signori giving as the reason for his resignation from the managing committee of II Proletario pressure of work. Resignation was accepted and Camillo Guisafarra chosen to fill the vacancy. A translation of an article that had appeared in II Proletario was then read. It appears that it advocates a sort of separation of the Italian Sections and Branches from the S. L. P., forming them into a federation affiliated with the Party. It was resolved to invite the Editor of II Proletario to attend the next session of the N. E. C. and to communicate with Comrade L. Sanial for the purpose of having him attend the same meeting and act as interpreter.

Further communications were received from New Brighton, N. Y., Rochester, N. Y., East Hartford, Conn., and other places, all of them bearing upon local conditions, work for the DAILY PEOPLE, etc.

Julius Hammer, Rec. Sec.

CANADIAN S. L. P.

Regular meeting of the N. E. C. held at London, Ont., May 19, with F. Darch in the chair. Comrade C. Corbin absent and excused. Minutes of previous meeting read and confirmed.

Communications received and read from DAILY PEOPLE, Section Toronto and Section Hamilton.

Letter from DAILY PEOPLE left with secretary to reply, giving thanks for information received. Communication from Section Toronto in reference to placing an organizer on the road, laid on the table until after the provincial elections.

Comrade Haselgrove laid before the committee the written opinion of a solicitor on the evidence and indictment of the Gordon case in Hamilton.

After a lengthy discussion it was decided to have the National Secretary notify Section Hamilton to instruct Comrade L. M. Gordon to issue a writ for \$1,000 for wrongful imprisonment against the police magistrate of Hamilton.

Committee reported progress in reference to printing press.

The National Secretary was instructed to write the National Secretary of the S. L. P. at New York that if it is possible we would wish their delegate to represent us at the Amsterdam Congress.

The Secretary was further instructed to draft an appeal for publication in the official organ for funds to fight the Gordon case.

S. P. COURTENAY, Recording Secretary.

MARION, IND.

Since its organization recently, Section Marion has taken in seven new members. The next meeting will be held Sunday, June 1, at George Rensers, corner 29th and Washington streets.

NEW YORK STATE COMMITTEE.

A special meeting of the committee was held on Monday, May 26, 6:30 p. m., at 2-6 New Reade street. J. Ebert acted as chairman, and the following members were present: F. Brauckmann, J. Ebert, A. C. Kihn, H. Kuhn, E. Muller, and A. Moren; absent, S. D. Cooper. The minutes of the previous meeting were accepted as read.

L. Abelson, organizer of Section New York, requested that 23 due stamps, lost in the mails, be replaced. Request granted.

A communication from Section Seattle, Wash., relative to the appeal in the case of Comrade W. S. Dalton was received and the answer sent by the Secretary of the Committee was endorsed.

The sub-committee, elected at the previous meeting, to revise the by-laws of Section Westchester County, reported favorably on the same with the exception of one clause. The report of the committee was endorsed and the Secretary instructed to notify the Section.

The sub-committee on organizing Long Island City reported that its work has been so far successful and that several subscribers for the Party press had been gained at the close of the meeting in that city. The report was received and the committee decided to proceed further according to the plan outlined by the sub-committee.

The Secretary was instructed to answer the communication of Section Westchester County. The Treasurer was instructed to pay \$50 towards defraying the expenses in the appeal of Comrades Wallace and Lake against the decision of Judge Nesbitt.

Adjournment followed.
A. MOREN, Recording Secretary.

SPECIAL FUND.

(As per circular letter, Sept. 3, 1901.)
Previously acknowledged... \$5,772 10
Section Newport News, Va.... 5 00
W. O. Purvis, St. Paul, Minn... 1 00
Theo. Stein, Pittsburgh, Pa.... 25
Section Milford, Conn.... 4 00
Section Troy, N. Y.... 9 00
Section Troy, N. Y., collection at meeting..... 2 96
Robert Downes, N. Y. City.... 1 00
Louis Queltette, Westbridge, B. C. Canada..... 25
Section Houston, Tex.... 6 35
Collected at farwell dinner given Comrade Lyon in Houston, Tex..... 14 75
F. D. Lyon Defense Fund balance..... 279 70
E. Forbes..... 1 00
Otto Schmidt, Indianapolis, Ind. 4 00
\$6,101 36
EDWARD DITTRICH, Cashier.

CONNECTICUT STATE CONVENTION.

The Connecticut State Convention of the Socialist Labor Party will be held at 8. P. Hall, 892 Main street, Hartford, May 30, 1902.

Let each section send a full delegation. Let each section furnish candidates for a full State ticket and let each section send a complete report of its work since the last convention.

The Convention will assemble at 9 A. M. sharp. Those desiring lodgings should notify the committee at once so that arrangements can be completed.

Connecticut State Committee,
Jas. J. Manes, Secretary.

OHIO S. L. P. STATE CONVENTION.

The Ohio State Convention of the Socialist Labor Party will be held at Cleveland, Friday, May 30.

Delegates and visiting comrades are requested to notify the chairman of the Reception Committee, Comrade Robert Zimmer, 40 Bowley street, at what time and on what train they will arrive.

The headquarters of the Reception Committee will be at the office of the "Cleveland Volksfreund," and "Socialistische Arbeiterzeitung," 239 St. Clair street, corner Ontario street, second floor.

We recommend Hotel Pence, corner Superior and Spring streets, to comrades who wish hotel accommodations.

The convention will be called to order at 9 A. M. in Sloss Hall, (Germ. Am. Bank Building) 356 Ontario street, top floor.

P. C. Christiansen, Secretary.

Cleveland, O., May 1, 1902.

WASHINGTON STATE CONVENTION.

Seattle, Wash., May 24.—A Mass Convention of the Socialist Labor Party of Washington will be held in Seattle at Section Seattle headquarters on July 27th, at 10 A. M. All members in good standing will be seated as delegates.

By order State Ex. Com., S. L. P.
T. J. Dean, Sec.

GENERAL COMMITTEE.

Section New York, Socialist Labor Party.

Regular meeting held Saturday, May 24, 1902, in the DAILY PEOPLE Building, 2-6 New Reade street. Chairman, Donald Ferguson; vice-chairman, E. Gello.

Two new delegates were seated. Nine new members were admitted. The resignation of S. Mundell, 26th A. D., Manhattan, and P. Napolitano and J. Gersa, Italian Branch, Brooklyn, were accepted.

Owing to the growth of the 34th and 35th A. D., Manhattan, it was decided to form separate district organizations.

M. Moshkowitz, E. C. Schmidt, and John Walsh were elected to succeed A. Bracher, A. Orange, and George Cook on the Entertainment Committee.

The Brooklyn Assembly Districts were granted the privilege to arrange and hold an entertainment on Labor Day, 1902.

It was decided to endorse the action of the National Executive Committee in arranging to bring an Irish Socialist agitator to this country; and a large demonstration was decided upon, the locality to be decided by the City Executive Committee.

Adjournment followed.

A. C. KIHN, Secretary.

OPEN AIR MEETINGS IN CHICAGO

Thursday, May 29.

Clark and Erie streets, 8 P. M.

Roby and Milwaukee streets, 8 P. M.

Saturday, May 31st.

Milwaukee and Paulina streets, 8 P. M.

Fullman, 8 P. M.

Sunday, June 1st.

Halsted and 63rd streets at 8 P. M.

Clark and Chestnut streets at 8 P. M.

State and Congress streets at 8 P. M.

Cottage Grove avenue and 60th street at 8 P. M.

Tuesday, June 3rd.

Clark and Erie streets at 8 P. M.

Madison and Ada streets at 8 P. M.

Wednesday, June 4th.

Cottage Grove avenue and 61st street at 8 P. M.

Thursday, June 5th.

Orchard street and North avenue at 8 P. M.

North avenue and Fairfield avenue at 8 P. M.

Saturday, June 7th.

Milwaukee avenue and Paulina street at 8 P. M.

Clark and Chestnut streets at 8 P. M.

111th street and Michigan avenue at 8 P. M.

AGITATION IN LYNN, MASS.

The agitation committee of Section Lynn has arranged a list of meetings to be held at 8 p. m. sharp. Comrades whose names are included in list below, take notice.

The committee wishes to call attention to the fact that the success of street meetings does not depend entirely upon the speakers. The comrades should attend the street meetings faithfully and help to make them a success. There are many things taking place here against which the workers should be warned. Every comrade should turn out at the meetings to gather names, distribute and sell literature and otherwise aid in pushing the work of propaganda.

May 29, M. Tracy and F. B. Jordan, Liberty street.

May 30, M. Breen and J. R. Oldham, Federal square.

June 2, F. Birtwill and F. B. Jordan, Blank street.

June 5, J. W. Ryan and J. R. Oldham, Liberty street.

June 6, W. Deans and F. Kees, Federal square.

S. L. P. LECTURES IN CLEVELAND, OHIO.

June 1st—"Patriotism," by Paul Dinger.

June 8th—"The S. L. P. and the S. P.," by John D. Goerke.

June 15th—"Industrial Crisis" by Richard Koepfel (lecture in German).

The above subjects will be discussed Sunday afternoons at 2:30 P. M., at 356 Ontario street, German American Bank Building, top floor.

MEETINGS IN THE 22d CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS.

Edwardsville, May 31st.

Freeburg, June 1st.

Speakers—Philip Veal, candidate for Trustee of the State University, and William W. Cox, candidate for Congress.

AGITATION IN MILWAUKEE WIS.

An agitation meeting will be held Saturday, May 31st, 8 P. M., at Schreiber's Hall, corner of Fourth and Sherman.

Lecture in German by Chas. Minkley. Subject, "The Trust." After the lecture free discussion.

The Organizer.

LECTURES IN WILMERDING, PA.

June 1—W. H. Thomas.

June 8—William Adams.

PITTSBURGH LECTURES.

Sundays 3 P. M., at Headquarters, 510 Wylie avenue.

June 1—J. D. McConnell—"Scientific Socialism."

June 8—John F. Taylor—"Municipal Socialism."

ESSEX COUNTY, N. J.

Section Essex County, N. J., will hold an important meeting on Sunday, June 1, at headquarters.

W. Walker, Organizer.

OFFICES AND COMMITTEES

Of Section Allegheny County, S. L. P. from July 1, to December 31, 1902.

Organizer and Financial Secretary—William J. Eberle.

Librarian and Recording Secretary—D. M. Sackter.

Treasurer—James Illingworth.

Assistant Librarian—William I. Marshall.

COMMITTEES:

Executive—Thomas Lawry, D. E. Gilchrist, H. A. Goff, Sr., C. A. Danielson and Charles Kessler.

Hall—George A. Stockdale, John Zelbon, Edward Fernot, H. F. Locke and John Kenney.

Entertainment—H. A. Goff, Jr., George Able, Fred Uhl, William J. Burns and John Desmond.

Grievance—Thomas Lawry, Valentine Remmel and C. A. Danielson.

Agitation—D. E. Gilchrist, P. C. Teson and H. R. Mangold.

Auditing—P. C. Teson, James Asdale and H. F. Locke.

Credentialed—O. N. Moore, George A. Stockdale and William J. Burns.

Press—H. A. Goff, Sr., J. A. McConnell, and Edward Messer.

Delegates to Pittsburgh District Alliance No. 15, S. T. & L. A.—Charles Kessler, J. A. McConnell and S. Shulberg.

TIME OF MEETINGS.

County Committee—First Sunday of every month at 10:30 A. M. sharp.

County Executive Committee—Every second and fourth Wednesday at 8 P. M. sharp.

STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF PENNSYLVANIA

Meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday, at 8 P. M. sharp.

Members for the term commencing June 1, 1902, and ending May 31, 1903—Valentine Remmel, D. E. Gilchrist, J. A. McConnell, H. A. Goff, Sr., John F. Taylor, William G. Cowen and James Illingworth.

State Secretary—William J. Eberle.

NEWS FROM ...

THE FIELD OF LABOR.

CAPITALIST ARITHMETIC.

Capitalist statistics on wages are never reliable. Published for the purpose of bolstering up the capitalist system, they are always more fanciful than real. Taking exceptions for generalities, they strike averages that do not exist excepting in the mind of some imaginative party orator or some interested capitalists. These truths are frequently demonstrated during strikes when the actual conditions of the workers, as formulated in their demands and grievances, give the lie to capitalist arithmetic. They are also demonstrated to be false and misleading in other ways.

Recently some very important statements were made relative to wages that are now very much in the public mind. On April 23 Senator Beveridge, addressing the Indiana Republican State Convention, in defense of trusts, stated that the averages wages paid to each laborer in the employ of the United States Steel Corporation was 20 per cent. larger than it was before consolidation, while the aggregate wages are 40 per cent. greater than before. This was held to be typical of all trusts. It was shown in this column at the time that the Senator had taken care to eliminate from his figures many unpleasant facts which would have destroyed their beauty and efficacy very much, and cause his client to be condemned instead of being commended. These facts related to the increased intensification of labor, resulting in the death and injury annually of thousands of iron and steel and other workers; and the increased cost of living; two factors which nullified the wage gains of the working class through consolidation.

Now comes the first annual report of the steel corporation itself. It shows the real facts to be much less beautiful than the figures of Senator Beveridge would lead one to believe. Though presented in the most favorable light it, upon analysis, shows that capitalist figures are not what they are alleged to be.

According to this first annual report the sum of \$112,000,000 was paid in wages to 158,263 employees. This is an approximate "average" wage of \$712 a year or \$2.25 per working day. This "high average" is based upon exceptional conditions. There are many \$50,000-a-year presidents and high-salaried officers, besides superintendents, mill bosses, boss mechanics, foremen, puddlers and other skilled workmen earning \$4 a day, included therein. With this minority eliminated, it will be found that the majority of the United States Steel Corporation employees receive considerably less than \$2 a day. This is plain from the fact that the pay-roll of employees, so-called, is but one quarter of the amount paid to wages. Recalling again the great intensification of labor and the increased cost of living, it will once more be found that capitalist figures are far from telling the truth; that they are downright lies when they are paraded as indications of advancing wages.

This fact could well be called settled with the figures quoted. Relating as they do to the most advanced type of capitalism, they might be deemed all-sufficient. But there is nothing like clinching an argument and driving it home. The following is therefore cited: In the DAILY PEOPLE of Wednesday, May 21, there appeared under the caption "Who is Right?" this brief item:

"According to the 'Evening Sun,' a Philadelphia statistician computes that 142,738 anthracite miners rendered idle by the strike order lost in wages the first week \$1,130,526.

This computation is somewhat at odds with the statement of the operators that the miners were paid from \$4 to \$5 a day. According to the computation the rate is less than \$8 a week; or about a dollar and a quarter a day."

"Somewhat at odds" is putting it mildly. The computation of the Philadelphia statistician is so much at variance with the statement of the operators that it may be safely said that the latter is untrue, that it is on a par with capitalist figures in general in the matter of wages.

It shows, as all strikers do, that the workers' statement of wages is the truer. The miners claim that, after deducting costs for powder, sharpening tools, and various other company charges, they have but an average daily wage of 78 cents. This claim is confirmed, unwillingly, perhaps, by the Philadelphia statistician quoted by the "Evening Sun," which "loves" the working class so much that it carefully and assiduously quotes the capitalist side against it every time.

Capitalist statistics on wages are never reliable.

A BOSTON COMRADE GONE.

Boston, Mass., May 19.—I regret to have to send you the sad news, of the death of one of the pioneers for the cause of Socialism in Section Boston, Comrade Jay Robert Simmons. He died on Saturday, May 17, with the dread disease smallpox, after a short illness of two weeks.

Owing to the rules of the Board of Health we will not be permitted to have any funeral services.

Comrade Simmons was a bold and fearless advocate of the principles which he held dear, namely: Revolutionary Socialism Clear and Uncompromising.

He was the only one of his race (black) in Massachusetts, to affiliate with the Socialist Labor Party.

Comrade Simmons was forty-two years of age, and unmarried, he has a widowed sister living in Cambridge, Mass., to whom the news of his death was carried by one of our comrades.

Resolutions will be adopted at our next meeting.

W. H. Carroll, Org.
Section Boston, S. L. P.

NEWS FROM ...

THE FIELD OF CAPITAL.

CAPITALIST FICTION EXPOSED.

One of the most amiable of capitalist fictions—worthy of the most ingenious novelist of the age—is that which attempts to deny wealth is concentrating because stockholders are increasing. Despite the recent bold utterances of Prof. Sumner, who declares that the tendency is toward corporate control by a few, this fiction is retailed in ever varying forms, with increasing frequency from day to day. Though the power of these few to cripple the many stockholders is made apparent in the daily news relating to stock squeezes, in which hundreds of small stockholders succumb, this ingenious yarn survives in all its original charm and freshness. Like the Santa Claus myth of your younger days, many persons believe it too good to give up, even though knowledge and experience have repeatedly demonstrated its true character.

Capitalist corporations, of course, do all in their power to keep faith in this fiction alive. They continually issue statements showing the increased number of stockholders who have invested in their stock, though they carefully refrain from giving any estimate as to the relative strength existing among their shareholders. Such statements would destroy the fine fabric of the fiction that has been woven regarding increasing stockholders. They would show that though stockholders are numerous, they don't count when it comes to the enactment of financial measures in which the majority stockholders, generally few in number, are interested.

Last week (May 19-24) it was announced that the number of stockholders in the United States Steel Corporation increased in the past year 33 1-3 per cent., and the total is something like 43,000. Eighty per cent. of the stockholders are registered as holding 100 shares or less.

The power of these stockholders was shown during the same week when the plan providing for the conversion of \$200,000,000 of preferred stock into an equal amount of 5 per cent. sixty-year gold bonds, and the issuance of \$50,000,000 of these bonds to be sold for cash, was opposed by the minority stockholders. This scheme, which would put \$10,000,000 into the pockets of the underwriting syndicate with which the majority stockholders are connected, was denounced by representatives of the minority as illegal, unnecessary, and exorbitant.

Just as the dog baying at the moon fails to interfere with the travels of that body, so also did the protest of the minority representing some 20 per cent. of the preferred stock and 24 of the common, fail to prevent the carrying out of the majority stockholders' plans.

It is said that at the meeting of the stockholders which ratified the conversion plan, President Schwab presided in a calm and apparently unconcerned manner. When the proceedings were most threatening because of the protests of the lawyers of the minority, he was coolest, toying listlessly with a pencil and gazing indifferently before him, according to reports.

Secure in the power of the majority stock, owned and controlled by a few, what had he to fear? Knowing the true value of the increased list of stockholders' fiction, he had no cobwebs on his mind or superstitions in his brain to cause him worry and anxiety. Those he was willing to others who desire fiction.

IN MEMORIAM.

Whereas, By the death of Thomas Lannon, the Textile Workers' Union, Local Alliance 206, S. T. & L. A. has lost one of its most faithful, energetic, and devoted members; and the Labor Movement of Rhode Island is bereft of one who spared no effort that would tend towards the uplifting of the working class in the textile craft.

Whereas, Our departed Comrade and co-worker, always to the front when work was to be done, never shirking the line of duty, acting even to the moment of death in the vanguard of the opposition to capitalist oppression of the working class, being at the very hour of his calling away, an executive officer of the New England Textile Workers in battle arrayed against an attempt on the part of the capitalists to further degrade and debase the conditions of life in the craft.

Recognizing his sterling worth as a man recognizing the testimony of his courage and devotion demonstrated by his refusal even when sick unto death to abate for an instant his labors for the protection and uplifting of his fellow-workers; dying as he lived struggling against the debasement of humanity to the greed of the capitalist class, it is fitting that it be

Resolved, That the Textile Workers' Union, Local 206, S. T. & L. A., the Executive Committee of the striking weavers of Providence, and the whole body of striking weavers in mass meeting assembled, deeply deplore the untimely passing away of our mate and co-worker, that we extend our heartfelt sympathy to his bereaved wife and family.

And be it further

Resolved, That the memory of our departed Comrade's courage and devotion to duty should be cherished by the workers for whom he struggled and suffered, and that the example of his determined resistance to the degradation of the working class should be respected and emulated by all who labor under the merciless tyranny of capitalism.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS:

Peter McDermott,
Anthony McDonald,
John H. Rigney,
Michael Glabby.

Lunch All Day Ice Cold Beer on Tap At All Times.